

DECLARATION

ALL PLACES WHEREIN AFRICAN SLAVES ARE  
FOR ALL LEGISLATIVE POWERS BY ACT OF  
PARLIAMENT

WITH A DESIRE, IN DUE DEFERENCE, TO BE PRESENTED TO

HIS MAJESTY,

THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE MOST HONOURABLE  
LORD VISCOUNT MELBOURNE,

UNDER FAVOUR FOR THE DOING OF WHICH IS HEREBY REQUESTED.

For introducing to the consideration of his Majesty and the Government all  
Places yet in slavery, and likewise to be British India and  
Sierra Leone in Africa, which will regulate the former.

BY DAVID DICK, ABERDEEN.

SOLD BY P. MILNE, MONTROSE;  
A. ALLARDICE, DUNDEE; P. GRAY, ABERDEEN;

AND THE BOOKSELLERS  
LONDON, MANCHESTER, DUBLIN, NEWCASTLE  
AND LIVERPOOL.

1830.

Price 3/6 in boards.

ABERDEEN:  
PRINTED AT THE HERALD OFFICE,  
BY H. CORNWALL.

326  
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It will be observed that, in some cases, the numbers of the Sections in the Text and in the above Synopsis do not correspond. This was occasioned by the multiplicity of divisions and subdivisions not being denoted with sufficient perspicuity in the manuscript. It is hoped, however, that the assistance afforded by the very copious and methodical Table given above, will enable the judicious reader to refer each Section to its proper head, and to appreciate the harmony which pervades the whole.



THE indistinctness of the manuscript, by reason of interlining and other alterations, has occasioned several errors in the marking of Sections, in words, and in pointing, for which no one is accountable but myself. For the correction of the first class of those I have elsewhere provided; and I here subjoin a list of the chief of the others, which may be corrected with the pen. To avoid swelling the list to an unreasonable length, I have omitted several things which need correction, although they are commonly allowed to pass. I allude to the using interchangeably for each other of such words as *amid*, *amidst*; *among*, *amongst*; *seward*, *towards*; *betwixt*, *between*; *excepting*, *except*; and the like. Such a use of these words, which is to be found in books that have undergone several editions, and even in works professedly treating on grammar and logic, shows the necessity for something new on these subjects; and I may, perhaps, afterwards, be induced to give to the world a brief and comprehensive compend on both. This necessity is farther shown, by the present treatises on these branches being in other respects very defective, unprecise, and unnecessarily lengthened through mystical complexity; in consequence of which, their study is much neglected. This is, perhaps, one cause of the lamentable prevalence of that loose, indistinct method, which has become so common, and which is extremely hurtful, especially in divinity, the chief of all subjects, because of its connexion with the glory of God, and with an eternity in its reality of woe or of woe!

- 
- Page 28, line 25. for knowingly, read unknowingly.  
 " 53. " 6. for inconvenient, read incoherent.  
 " 66. " 18, 19. for being the cry, read by the very.  
 " 69. " 4. for twenty-five, read thirty.  
 " 74. " 14. for twenty-five, read thirty.  
 " 78. " 53. for profit the traffic, read profit which the traffic.  
 " 82. " 25. for short. In the, read short, in the.  
 " 85. " 2. for women, read women.  
 " 111. " 12. for God's law, read God's love.  
 " 112. " 20. for person, read persons.  
 " 114. " 51. for sing, read have sung.  
 " 117. " 34. for from him, read from them.  
 " 121. " 10, 18. section 12th is a repetition of section 5th.  
 " 124. " 10. for prove, read prize.  
 " 125. " 7. for when, read which.  
 " 126. " 14. for for any labour, read from any labour.  
 " 127. " 21. for line, read time.  
 " 129. " 8. for adoption, read adaptation.  
 " 132. " 20. for sanctified subjects, read sanctification, subjects.  
 " 133. " 32. for before this rule was, read before this, rule was.  
 " 134. " 4. for divine day, read divine glory.  
 " 142. " 1. for by Christ. On the, read by Christ; on the.

Page 152. line 10.	for better	hear the thunders, read better hear. The thunders.
163. "	32.	for junior, read senior.
164. "	25.	for shows, read show.
167. "	87.	for activity, read actively.
167. "	71.	for ceremonial, read ceremonial.
169. "	23.	for one church memorable, read one church. Memorable.
171. "	4.	for by him. In, read by him; in.
171. "	11.	for promise. In, read promise in.
171. "	80.	for eaten. In, read eaten; in.
183. "	13.	for those within the veil, read there within the veil.
187. "	30.	for sweats, read sweat.
192. "	12.	for he had, read he that had.
193. "	33.	for study, read duty.
194. "	35.	for night, read may.
198. "	12.	for of Christ is injudicious, read of Christ is injudicious.
201. "	21.	for that which is typified, read that which it typified.
204. "	20.	for predecessors or, read predecessors, or.
205. "	15.	for under hiding, people are, read under hiding, and people are.
205. "	22.	Ier. xix. 12, 13. should be followed with "it is a good sign, but darkness, &c. is a sign of his being distant."
205. "	24.	for the fast, read a fast.
207. "	9.	for of persons, read in persons.
207. "	14.	for considering it for, read considering it for.
213. "	12.	for in former times by, read in former times experienced by many singing here who now sing above.
214. "	27.	for her constitution, read her present constitution.
217. "	10.	for but, that from, read but, also for the.
219. "	23.	for amity, read amity.
221. "	18.	for without favour, read without the favour.
229. "	40.	for constituted, read consistent.
233. "	42.	Add, at the bottom of the page, "and in the divine light in Christ, Isaiah xli. 1.; Matth. iii. 17.; Matth. xvi. 5."
233. "	28.	for with the heart, read of the heart.
245. "	8.	for of man. The prophet, read of man, the prophet.
246. "	6.	for become, read became.
246. "	25.	for person, read persons.
273. "	6.	for tribes of Levi, read tribe of Levi.
282. "	...	for bound parties, read bound parents.
284. "	35.	dele who.
284. "	11.	for either as the, read either as to the.
293. "	27.	for human, read humane.
293. "	20.	for wrong, read wrong.
311. "	35.	for professors, read possessors.
319. "	15.	for contextures, read contexture.
320. "	10.	for maintained, read obtained.
322. "	21.	for chain, read claim.

The phrases "them of the Church," p. 86. line 32, &c. and "them of A," p. 91. line 6. would have been better "the people of A," and "the people of his Church," or "the members of his Church." Murray's Grammar says "they," Lennix's "those;" but "people" would be better than either of these two modes.

The act abolishing Slavery in the West Indies having been passed while my book was in progress (as noticed elsewhere) caused me to stop the printing for a time. This has rendered necessary the substitution of "thirty years" for "twenty-five years," in p. 68. line 4, and p. 76. line 14. in order to correspond with the date, 1836, in the Title.

## TO THE READER.

ADVERTISEMENT

THOUGH the following Work has reference chiefly to Slavery in the West Indies, yet it is applicable also to all Modern Slavery, this, in its general aspect, having been constantly kept in view in the writing. But having enlarged more than I originally intended, whereby much delay was occasioned; while the printing was only in progress, the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the British West India Colonies, towards which the public pursuit of Britain had been wholly directed, passed the Legislature. Upon this, for a time, the printing was stopped, but was afterwards resumed and the Work brought to a conclusion. I was led to adopt this course from the consideration that Slavery still continues to exist in many places of the world, some of these in the British dominions, and even in the West Indies; and the need of the prosecution of the cause still, in reference to all these places, partially differing as to severity in cruelty, but all very degraded as to servility and debauchery in the breach of the Seventh Command, and the want of the means of Salvation; by all which causes the condition of the Slaves is rendered very pitiable; upon which account, in accents most pathetic, the grievance cries for speedy relief.

~~And~~ In behalf of those widely extended territorial appendages of our British empire, as already notified, I most respectfully transmit a few copies of this Work to the

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Melbourne, First Lord of the Treasury, &c. &c. &c. that he may present one to our Sovereign of Great Britain and other parts of foreign dominions, His Most Excellent Venerable Majesty King William the Fourth, for his august consideration; and dispose of the rest as his Lordship shall see meet; with submission waiting upon his Lordship's pleasure for the doing of this, and expecting his condescending favour in cordial compliance; and in condescension the cordial acceptance by his Majesty, and his Royal interference in conjunction with his Lordship's, remaining theirs in all dutiful subjection and respect.

Any person having an opportunity of communication with Anti-Slavery Societies in America or elsewhere, or yet with individuals in influence or power, may have as many copies, freely and cheerfully given, as can be advantageously disseminated for the furtherance of the object it has in view. Without saying any more on the subject now, and, indeed, without the thought of ever saying anything more on it, I leave the event to God in his providence, that he may overrule it for his own glory in a way of grace, which in this has been my aim, while his will has been studied as the rule for this end; which in its full, in reference to the cause in view, I hope will soon be attained respecting the whole habitable globe.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE existence of slavery, and the state of the slaves, together with their usage on their passage to the West Indies, and their condition there, have long been subjects of public discussion throughout the British Empire, and in the British court. In 1784, Ramsay wrote relative thereto. In 1788, numerous petitions from different counties, cities, and towns, were sent to parliament for the abolition of the slave trade, which occasioned an examination by the House of Commons; and while slave merchants and planters endeavoured to vindicate their cause in 1789 and 1790, in 1790 and 1791 the evils of the slave trade from Africa, and of slavery in the West Indies and in America were exposed by the testimony of sixty individuals. Some of these had been in almost all the conspicuous parts of Africa, from the river Senegal to Angola, and had been resident on the shore, coast, and up and down the banks of different rivers, and whose evidence respecting Africa and the middle passage, reached from 1754 to 1789. Others of them had been resident in the West Indies and in America for several years, whose evidence respecting these places, reached from 1753 to 1790; an abstract of which evidence, in both its parts, was published in London and Edinburgh, in 1791, with the names, offices, and employments of the witnesses, and is entitled "An Abstract of the Evidence before the House of Commons," and contains very horrid information. After this the slave trade was debated in parliament until 1806, when the passing of an Act against the bringing of any more slaves from Africa produced a partial quiet throughout Britain, and made the public contest in behalf of poor slaves for some years to cease, without their case being bettered in the least, as afterwards appeared: upon which the public contest was revived, whereby, amidst all the art and falsehood used by the colonists to misrepresent the system of slavery, and to conceal its

evils, every day brings new information of the he-rid evils arising from it, and shows it to be like an un-healthy body breaking forth in blemishes and blotches, which discover the body to be corrupt, and these to be incurable, as time, too long time, indeed, has in ex-perience mor-tally proved; all showing the utter in-adequacy of the Act, even for its own purpose, and that nothing less than the complete abolition of the system will answer, for which every thing connected there-with, including the Divine glory, the duty of Britain, and the good of all concerned, the traders and colonists, as well as poor injured slaves, have such a loud and an accumulated cry.

For the purposes of stimulating to exertion in behalf of slaves, by presenting to view the universality of public concern therein, and, in subserviency thereto, for detecting to information on the subject, writings have been collected into a catalogue, which is prefixed to T. Clarkson's work on slavery; which catalogue seems to include, in its 2d section, the fore-mentioned evidence, and is as follows:—

1. Ramsay's Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of Negro Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies, 1784.
2. Debates on the Slave Trade, 1791, 1792, 1806, 1807.
3. Wilberforce's Letters to his Constituents, 1807.
4. Pickard's Notes on the West Indies, 1815.
5. Collins' Professional Planter, 1804.
6. Dickson's Mitigation of Slavery, 1814.
7. Watson's Defence of the Methodist Mission in the West Indies, 1816.
8. Report of the African Institution on the Reasons for a Registry of Slaves, 1815.
9. Review of Colonial Registry Bills, by the African Institution, 1820.
10. Sixteenth Annual Report of the African Insti-tution, 1822.
11. Stephens' Letters to Wilberforce on the Regis-try of Slaves, 1816.
12. Cooper's Letters to Wilberforce, 1822.
13. Singleton's Report of the State of Sierra Leone, 1822.

14. Pamphlet, No. XVI. containing Coster on the Amelioration of Slavery, 1816.
15. Wilberforce's Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity, of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies, 1823.
16. Negro Slavery as it exists in the United States and in the West Indies, especially in Jamaica, 1823.
17. Cropper's Letters on the injurious effects of high prices, and the beneficial effects of low prices, on the condition of Slavery, 1823.
18. Hodgston's Letters to Say on the comparative expenses of Free and Slave Labour, 1823.
19. East and West Indian Sugar, 1823.
20. Proceedings in the House of Commons on Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1823.
21. Declaration of the objects of the Liverpool Society for Abolishing Slavery, 1823.
22. Thoughts on the necessity of improving the British Colonies, with a view to their ultimate emancipation, and the practicability, the safety, and the advantages of the latter measure, by Thomas Clarkson, Esq. 1823.
23. A Review of some of the arguments which are commonly advanced against parliamentary interference on behalf of the Negro Slaves, with a statement of opinions on the subject by many of our distinguished statesmen, including Earl Grey, Earl of Liverpool, Lord Grenville, Lord Dudley and Ward, Lord Melville, Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, &c. &c. 1823.
24. Substance of the debate in the House of Commons, on the 15th May, 1823, on a motion for the mitigation and gradual abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions; with a preface, and with appendixes containing facts and reasonings illustrative of Colonial bondage, 1823.

Besides these there are others more recent by Goodwin, Stephen, Jeremie, the Anti-Slavery Reporter, the Jamaica Christian Record, the Jamaica Watchman, and the Abolitionist, by the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society.

While in behalf of slaves much has been pleaded in

a variety of ways, by speaking and by writing, in discourses larger and lesser, exposing the way in which slaves are obtained, the usage they receive, the tenure on which they are held, the need of the complete abolition of the system, and the practicability of this in a consistency with peace, order, subjection, and the good of all concerned; all of these discourses, in their different modifications, either for informing or exciting, have contributed towards their desirable end. Yet while slavery still continues to exist in many lands, and while the principles and basis on which it rests, the manner in which it is conducted, and the arguments adduced for its support are much the same, writing continues necessary, as a means for more extensively exposing the system to many yet uninformed, and for exciting all to plead with God for direction and success; and as a means to plead with Government and to choose for our rulers only men who would herein concur, having a regard for the glory of God and the good of men, regulated by his written will as the rule for attaining this complex end, and the last in subseriency to the first. And candidates should be accepted, not merely upon profession, but from proof of their attachment to the cause by past endeavours according to opportunity, and from their known integrity, for if they want integrity what would the profession by promise avail, which men will make to obtain a seat in Parliament, who will waste thousands by making the streets run down with drink, occasioning very great debauchery? And how can the administration of such be expected to be right in its motive or manner, or successful in the issue for the end in view? And yet however far upright, well-designing men may be faulty in this manner of obtaining a seat in the legislature by giving drink, to say the least it is very inconsiderate; and such men as would have a regard to the already-mentioned ends, in connexion with our excellent British constitution, should have the choice of the people readily and freely made, without requiring trouble or expense to obtain.



## MODERN SLAVERY

### INDEFENSIBLE.

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THE importance and the need of the abolition of modern slavery in the West Indies, as well as in other places, arise from its long continuance, the multitudes of reasonable creatures therein involved, the way in which they are involved, and their condition therein.

While to the importance and the need of the abolition of modern slavery, its long continuance, and its numerous subjects, both contribute, together with the way, this general way, in its variety of somewhat different manner by kidnapping, thieving, pillaging, robbing, plundering, &c. and all by perfidy, rapine, and invasion, including those subjecting as well as those subjected in the several places of Africa, extending from the river Senegal through Gambia to the end of the windward coast, on the Golden Coast river Benin to the river Ambris, comprehending also the usage of slaves on the middle passage to the West Indies, and its very destructive nature and effect on seamen as to body: is very carefully recorded in the Abstract Evidence to which I did formerly allude: while hereby traders, sailors, and merchants are involved in guilt and into a course that vitiates their moral powers which will one day appear. The need of the abolition of slavery extends in a special manner to Britain, it being a Christian land, to free it of guilt, at least as to the future,

and to be a pattern to other lands in the abolition of the system, which in whole is wrong, and for the support of which from Africa have violently been carried away of reasonable creatures a multitude numerous as would have peopled the globe.

In the Abstract Evidence, from pp. 13—53 inclusive, with other accounts written and oral, all sufficiently authenticated, we have in the slave trade a horrifying picture, at which every kindly humane feeling must revolt, and which every humane moral principle must reprobate in this most iniquitous criminal traffic that ever disgraced the annals of man, and which is recorded in characters marked in blood.

Herein we see slave ships hovering along the coast of Africa, like vultures over a field of prey.

Herein, in obtaining slaves, we will sometimes see the European slave ships themselves alone, pp. 26—37; sometimes the slave ships employing African traders in man-stealing to seize and obtain for them; and sometimes the ships instigating the petty African kings and chieftains, some of whom have little other means for the support of their dignity, p. 16, who in order thereunto will be thereby induced to sell, and thereby to expose to cruel treatment, their subjects whom they ought to protect. And in the doing of this there is sometimes a pretended falsely-alleged crime, and part of the price of the slave the perquisite of the judge who is thereby bribed, p. 22; and sometimes without the alleging of any crime, trial, or judge; and sometimes the Europeans stirring up wars among the Africans in order to obtain. On the whole, not only are Africans captured, but all engaged therein are involved in sin, and even when Africans are employed in any of the accursed ways, Europeans are chief.

Herein we see treachery in the slave ships enticing poor ignorant Africans under pretence of friendship to come on board to drink, p. 20; and making a man drunk to sell his wife, p. 28; and the captain inviting some to see the fine prize which he had, through seduction obtained by drink, lulled in insensibility and concealed, who, upon their awaking, were put in irons and sent to the rest of the captives, pp. 29, 30.

Here we see Africans invited on board under pretence of buying goods which the ships exposed to view, while preparations were made in readiness to receive them; pp. 31--33; then seized, and some leaping overboard to escape, p. 29; in which traffic there is a twofold deceit; p. 37. Here, through the trade, we will see the people of two villages set at variance and captives obtained from both, p. 28; and, through the trade, the people of two towns set at variance, and by the captains invited on board under pretence of reconciling them, and the captains agreeing with the people of the one town to cut off the people of the other town, and a gun fired as a signal to commence hostilities; and after the struggle the captains delivering some of the escaped, who, by the other town, were beheaded alongside of the ships; on which occasion from 300 to 400 were killed in the ships and in the water and carried off, pp. 33, 34. On another occasion, in order to obtain slaves, a poor man delivered to his enemies, upon which his head was by them immediately struck off, p. 37.

Herein we see an expedition undertaken by a ship joined with boats, and to prevent crying binding the mouths of the captives with handkerchiefs and oakum, while, in consequence, the remaining complain of the want of their friends who thus had been knowingly taken away, p. 30.

Herein we see canoes in number with villains in the trade, and of these canoes from three to ten in a fleet; each canoe with from forty to sixty paddlers, and twenty to thirty traders and other people with muskets, and a three or four pounder lashed on the bow of the canoe; and these absent from ten days to three weeks, and returning with a number of slaves pinioned, or chained together. While those of the king come in the day, those of others come in the night, with their captives lying bound, covered with mats in the bottom of the boat, pp. 19, 20, 23, 24.

Here in the trade we see from three hundred to three thousand of soldiers, in the horrible expedition called the king's grand pillage, setting the towns on fire in the night to seize the inhabitants, while private robbers lie in wait to catch those who might escape, p. 13. And

hereby we see Africa, a country naturally fertile for several thousands of miles, rendered a scene of desolation, p. 17.

Herein we see notorious traders order to kidnap traversing the coast, p. 31.

Herein we see, in what is called the king's general pillage, executed by African king's troops on horse-back in the evening, armed with bows and arrows, guns, pistols, sabres, and long lances, p. 15; wherein we will see irresistible brutal fury and violence.

Herein we will see the African king with his guards going three hundred miles up the country, driving down captives to the sea, p. 18.

Hereby we see the Europeans the instrumental means of stirring up the Africans to plunder, rob, pillage, steal, and kidnap one another to sell, p. 26.

Herein we see a stronger village seizing a weaker and selling it, p. 18.

Herein we see slave ships agreeing not to exceed a certain price for slaves; and seven or eight ships firing red hot shot upon a town in order to force the town to yield and bring slaves, p. 34.

Herein we see cruelty by men with hearts hard as adamant, furnished by Europeans with cannons, powder, and ball, to go ravage and capture, in the doing of which there is less regard to people than a man would have for his flock or his herd, p. 17.

Herein we will see of attackers and of defenders to the number of from three to four hundred wounded and killed, lying in their blood. Yea, here we will see the African king escaping from a slave ship, by killing two of the crew who attempted to seize him, and after him getting into a canoe, it struck to pieces by a six-pounder, causing him to swim ashore to the woods, after which he reached his own country though closely pursued, while it was said that he received eleven wounds from musket shot, p. 35.

Herein we see father and son while in the field seized and carried away, p. 23.

Here, in these diversified ways, we see from one or two to twelve hundred carried captive away, p. 23.

Herein we see the ships intoxicating some of the

African kings who were otherwise unwilling to pillage their subjects, p. 27.

Herein we see a ship captain stationed at the head of the Scaffus river in the character of a trader, p. 27.

Herein we will see an expedition of eight or nine days plundering the villages, p. 25.

Herein we will see a slave ship attempting to sail without paying for the slaves, but stopped by the guns of the fort, p. 37.

Herein we will see an African king putting to death almost the whole of the crew of a ship, p. 33.

Herein we see some carried away in their wounds, p. 27; some tied back to back, p. 16; some with strings round their neck, and some with their hands tied across, p. 17.

Herein some have been taken in sleep, p. 16. Herein we see an instrument of wood, five inches long, placed horizontally in a man's mouth, to prevent crying in the night, p. 21.

Herein we see the wife taken from her husband and from her children; sometimes the husband from his wife, p. 15; sometimes a boy, p. 18; and sometimes a girl, p. 19; and sometimes boys and girls without any relations, p. 22; sometimes the mother with the child in her womb, p. 23; sometimes the child on her breast, p. 17; sometimes father and son, p. 23; sometimes both the parents, and apparently all the children, p. 24. Sometimes, while both parents have been killed in necessary just defence, the surviving children, who could not resist, have been carried orphans captive away, pp. 16. 25. Sometimes, when the captured father, with his children, has been brought to the ship, upon his being found unfit through age, his head has been chopped off, and he thrown overboard, while the children have been retained, pp. 23. And what shall I say more?

Here we see Africans, male and female, when seized and put on board, in great distress of mind, overcome with grief at being separated from friends and native lands, and from fear and dread at the future—in what would be received from those who had captured,—and when aboard the ships refusing meat, and choosing rather to die, yea, many actually putting violent hands to their

own life, in different ways, in the ship, pp. 14, 15. 21. 38. 44. 45.

Here we see Africans, of great affection towards relations, pp. 83—85, taken from their native country, where, by seven-fold testimony, these Africans were well used, p. 102—testified also by themselves in their reluctance of leaving, and desire of returning, and, through ignorance, desiring death, even violent, for this end, and rejoicing in hopes of this at their death.

In the slave ships we will see the slaves linked together, lying on the bare boards, with bruised bodies and the prominent parts excoriated.

Here we will see the slaves sparingly fed, twice a day, with rice, yams, and horse beans, and sometimes a little beef and bread, and a little water—about an English pint, or Scotch mutchkin, or one and a half English pint, which is one and a half Scotch mutchkin—divided and served at the different meals; the first of which times is, when they are brought on deck, which, when the day is fair, is about eight or nine in the morning; upon which they are loaded with additional chains, to prevent insurrection; and, for exercise, are in these chains forced, by the cat, to jump and to sing—even those who have the flux, scurvy, and such rheumatic swellings in their legs as make it painful for them to move at all,—while the subject of their songs is their wretched condition, and the idea of never returning home. The second time of their being fed is before they go down, which is about four in the afternoon; and upon their delay of getting into their places below, the cat is again applied, pp. 38, 39. In their apartments we see them so closely wedged in as in a coffin, p. 40, with not so much room above as to sit upright, and some ships with scarcely two feet between the platform and the deck, p. 43; while more modern times do not afford a more favourable view—by means of which confinement, besides the want of freedom, there is great want of air for breathing.

In addition to what herein is common, in time of a storm, when the scuttles are shut, the gratings of the ship being insufficient, the slaves' condition is still worse; and thereby the flux occasioned, and difficulty to get to the tubs over one another, and this difficulty

increased by the slaves being linked together; and the slaves crying that they were dying; while the deck has been covered with blood and mucus, resembling a slaughter-house, and even the sickly lying on the bare planks, and the prominent parts of these slaves' bones, about the shoulder-blade and knees, bare; and the heat being to that degree that a man could not be there a few minutes without having his shirt as wet as if dipped in water, and the smell intolerable. And, while the slaves have been crying that they were dying, and drawing their breath with all those laborious and anxious efforts of life which are observable in expiring animals, subjected by experiment to foul air, or in the exhausted receiver of an air-pump; and hereby often a dead slave found in the morning shackled to a living. Upon the removing the tarpawlings and gratings, the steam of breath and of heat, issuing like the smoke of a furnace; and the slaves flying for air, with all the signs of terror, and dread of suffocation; while, out of upwards of 20,000, to the number of 800 have died, and the number reduced to three-fourths or one-half, or even to fewer, pp. 38—44.

As if all this was not sufficient for poor slaves, we will see instances of the captain tormenting and wickedly exposing a female, fifteen years of age—whom modesty required to sit with her body bent—whom he flogged, and hanged by the wrist, and then by the one leg, and then by the other; thereby exposing her to the whole crew of the ship, until, worn out by torture, she died.—*Historical Register, Jan. 1792.*

Herein we will also see an instance of cruelty, in one Captain Kimber, towards a boy, nineteen months old, who refused to eat; for which the captain took him up in his hand, and flogged him with a cat, saying—"Damn you, I'll make you eat, or I'll kill you." The child having swelled feet, the captain ordered him to be put into water, though the ship's cook told the captain that the water was too hot. This application of the water so warm brought off the skin and the nails; after which, oil was applied to the feet. And, after refusal again to eat, the captain flogged him again, and tied a log of mango wood, eighteen or twenty inches

long, and thirteen or fourteen pounds weight, to the neck of the child; and afterwards flogged him for three or four days, at mess time; after the last of which floggings, the captain let him drop out of his hand, with the same expression as before; after which, in about three quarters of an hour, the child died. The captain then called to its mother to heave it overboard, and beat her for refusing, and forced her to take it up, and go to the side of the ship, where, holding her head on one side, to avoid the sight, she dropped her child overboard; after which she cried for many hours, *Evidence*, pp. 47, 48. Here the child the mother bare she could not call her own, either when dead or alive.

Herein we will see insurrections on the passage, by the rising of the injured captives, and them flogged, and the cook's tormentors heated to burn their flesh, and them sometimes put to death, p. 48.

Herein we will see the ship by powder blown up in the air, and the slaves in her linked together, p. 48.

Here we see, in the time of a storm, the sailors leaving the ship with the slaves, and these sailors, after getting to land by their boats, killing upwards of three hundred of the slaves, who had gotten rid of their chains, and were swimming on broken pieces of the ship getting to land, p. 49.

In this slave trade we will see a slave ship, when overburdened in time of a storm, or like to be overcome by the slaves, throwing hundreds of them overboard, and consigning them to a watery grave.

Here we see a ship in the trade, contrary to law, when like to be seized, left by the sailors, who, upon their leaving her, lighted a rope dipped in pitch, leaving it above the powder magazine, that, after the sailors were out of the reach of danger, the dropping torch might fall into the magazine, and blow up the ship with the slaves in the air, upon the which, when the sailors of the other ship arrived, they discerned, and instantly cut the torch. After which they heard a murmur, and upon opening a cask on the deck they found a female slave. Several of which casks they saw floating on the water before arriving at the ship; from which they conjectured that all these casks had been full of slaves.



thrower overboard, who must have perished, either for want of air or else through water leaking at the holes, and at any rate through the want of meat, unless picked out of the sea. Somewhat similar to this a case lately appeared, of a slave ship casting three or four hundred overboard into the sea.

Upon arriving at the West Indies, we will see the ship darkened with sails, and covered round; the men placed upon the main deck, and the women on the quarter deck; and the intending purchasers on shore informed that a gun would be fired when the sale would begin. After this a great number of people coming on board, with cards or tallies in their hands, with their own names, and three or four handkerchiefs tied together, to encircle so many as they bought, and rushing through the barricado doors with the ferocity of brutes; while the slaves are sold, and separated as cattle or sheep for the market, and fixed upon, by purchasers selecting such as pleased them, as sheep by a butcher; while many of the slaves leap overboard. And after this sale by scramble of the best, those who were sickly sold by public auction, being the refuse. Some sold as low as a dollar; and some dying through neglect, expiring in the piazza of the Vendue Master.—*Abstract Evidence*, pp. 49, 50.

Here, in this traffic, we will see owners going about, saying that four years gave the pennyworth of the slave,—*Abstract Evidence*, p. 123.

Here we may also see the bad effect of this traffic on seamen, pp. 89—101; and the reason of their engaging, seeing this was known to them—which reason was by their being trepanned; while out of 12,263 employed in the slave trade, 2,640, at an average, died in a year; and sometimes of a whole crew only six or seven returned.

What cruelty inflicted on the one hand, and of misery endured on the other, is here to be seen, is only in a few features, afforded by a few outlines of a comparative few instances; while time would fail to tell, and human nature, if not hardened, would fail to behold all this, and a thousand more cruelties that could be mentioned, besides which much never publicly brought to view.

Whether by slave ships alone, or jointly with traders and conspirators, in one way or in another, by night or by day, carrying on this trade, these, with their trade, ought to be expunged from every page of every book, and from every nation under heaven. O sun! from such a horrible trade why dost not thou withhold thy shining?—and why, O moon and stars! do not you withhold your glimmerings?—and why, O earth! didst not thou open, to swallow up these monsters of wickedness in thy bowels?—or sea! why didst not thou drown them in thy deep?—O, the Divine patience! presaging a judgment to come! Yea, in the present, after so much patience and remonstrance, if there be a persisting, what is to be expected, but that, in the Divine superintendence and rule, the Lord will put a stop to this accursed trade; and, to show his displeasure against those engaged in it, with the besom of destruction the ocean will sweep!

While in the condition of slaves, may be included the usage they receive from their capturer in Africa, during their passage from which they are in a state of subjection and suffering in their way to the West Indies; the general condition of those newly brought, along with those who were there before, may be briefly exhibited in the following particulars:—

I.—With respect to labour or employment.

1st, In its kind, which arises from the different ways in which slaves are disposed of by owners according to their own need and to the capacity of the slaves; some are bought for plantation use, and of these are artificers of various descriptions, as house carpenters, coopers, masons, &c. and some are field slaves, watchmen, drivers, &c. some are in-door slaves or domestics, both in town and in country; some are out-of-door slaves, and not for plantation use, but are porters, fishermen, boatmen, watchmen, drivers, &c. and these are not always employed by their owners, but in case of want of employment are allowed to work where they may find it, and are required to bring a certain price to their owner at the end of the day, or at the end of the week.—*Evidence*, pp. 55. 60, 61.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 87, p. 388.—The way in which some of

the poor female domestics and also of the out-of-door females are employed is in prostitution, the price of which they are required to bring in full to their owner, or master, or mistress, at the end of the week, the want of which is often the cause of severe punishment. — *Evidence*, p. 61. — Yea, West India mistresses have been known to send their female slaves on board of ships for the purpose of prostitution, that these mistresses might enjoy the infamous reward, *Historical Register*, p. 293; the which practice in its reality and common universal extent still continuing will be afterwards noticed in its proper place.

2d, Labour in its time of beginning, duration, and ending. — While labour in its time or yet its quantity respecting artificers, domestics, and out-of-door slaves, is according to the several kinds of employment; the expressly-limited time for field labour, as also of other things in the condition of slaves, shall be extracted from a statement made and published, London, 29th April, 1831, by forty-one colonists who, p. 2, say that it had been thought fit to show what are the present existing laws of the several colonies, which laws, with one exception, p. 12, are either entirely new, or have been re-enacted with great improvement, within the last eight years. Upon this time of labour, and upon other articles, the state of these colonies, by these forty-one, is as follows:—

Jamaica begins labour at five o'clock in the morning, allows one-half hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner, and ends labour at seven o'clock at night, except during crop season, but the time for that season is not specified.

St. Vincent also begins labour at five in the morning, allows one-half hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner, ends the labour at sun-set, except during crop, but for labour then the time is not specified.

Grenada does not begin labour before day-break, allows one-half hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner, and does not labour after sun-set, except in crop, during which there is no specified time.

Dominica begins at five in the morning, allows one-half hour for breakfast, two hours for dinner, ends la-

hour at seven at night out of crop, but during crop allows one hour and a half for dinner, and then not later than nine at night.

Tobago requires not to leave home before the break of day, allows forty minutes for breakfast, and one hour and forty minutes for dinner, and not work after sun-set, except in particular cases requiring night work, but whether by particular cases here be meant crop season or not, is not said—crop season is not particular, but general or common, and regular.

Antigua does not compel to any kind of field labour before five in the morning, nor after seven at night, allows one-half hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner. Of the time for any other kind of labour, or yet of crop season, there is no word.

Demerara limits the hours of field labour from six in the morning to six at night, and allows two hours for meals; and in the manufacturing of sugar at least eight hours of rest without interruption, six of them to be between sun-set and sun-rise; the other two hours seem to be for breakfast and dinner.

In this article nothing is said of Barbadoes, St. Christopher, Nevis, Behamas, nor Bermuda, which are the rest of the places mentioned in the statement by the forty-one.

Here by these several places the time of labour is variously expressed; Jamaica expressly limiting the time to be from five to seven, which is fourteen hours, from which two hours and a half for meals deducted leave eleven hours and a half. Dominica and Antigua the same. Demerara from six to six, allowing two hours for meals, leaves ten. The rest of the places expressing their time by the break of day, sun-rise, and sun-set, do not furnish us with the account of the exact time; but the expressed time of them all is confined to labour in the field, where the slave must be ready to begin at the appointed time, upon the pain of the lash.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 82, p. 297.—Take Jamaica as a fair sample of all the rest of the colonies, computing their time of field labour to be eleven hours and a half, and adding to this the time necessary for going to the field and returning twice a day, cooking victuals, and for

this carrying water sometimes from a distance, washing clothes, taking care of the children, with all domestic occurrences, for which *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, p. 298 says it would be unreasonable to assign less than one hour and a half or two hours a day. Add to this the picking of grass, and carrying it home to the horses or to the cattle, on some estates one bundle at noon, on other estates one bundle at night, and on some estates one bundle at noon and another at night.

This of the picking of grass is very common.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 82, p. 298 says in most cases it is considered to be a regular part of the duty of the field slave, and (p. 289) that by the protector's returns it will be found to exist even in the crown colonies, and that the same is the case in the most of the other colonies, the laws of some of these giving the master a right; that the practice prevails to a considerable extent, even in Jamaica; that the act of Grenada expressly provides that the slaves are not to be compelled to work beyond the hours of field labour, except "in manufacturing, such as necessarily requires night or extra labour, or in the carrying a bundle of grass or stock meat from the field to the stable, or other places where it may be consumed;" but the bundle must necessarily also be gathered before it can be carried.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 87, p. 390, of Mauritius says, "Ten slaves complained of having neither Sabbath, nor their hours of repose during the day, nor even time to take their meals; that they were obliged to rise at three in the morning, and to work from that time till nine at night, the darker hours being employed in collecting grass; and upon this the defendant said that they had as much time for meals as the other plantations, which evidenced the extent of the oppression, which did not indeed make it to be less on the ten; but for which complaint to the protector they were punished;" p. 397, "Some worked from three in the morning at extra work, as grass gathering, after which they worked till eight at night."

*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 87, says, of Mauritius, that it is just a scene of multiplied abuse of slaves, and of complaint by them of the want of meat, and the want

of time to receive it, of time to repose, and for labouring on Sabbath; and shows the partiality and injustice of the authorities in punishing complainers and passing over masters.

"The gathering of grass is also sometimes very difficult, especially in the time of drought; and the want of it is often the cause of severe punishment."—*Abstract Evidence*, p. 55. "At the time of the grass being brought to the respective places of the several estates, the roll is called over, and the bundle of each slave examined; and upon failure of attending the roll-call, or of insufficiency of quantity of grass, punishment is the result."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 82, pp. 298, 299— which is often the case, because the grass is to be collected when the slaves return from the field, and not under the immediate eye of the master or driver; and through encroaching on the time allotted to the slaves' own use is apt to be neglected.

Moreover, besides the encroachment on the time of slaves by grass-picking, when it is at night the exposure to the chilling effect on the heated bodies of the slaves in the night air, and often the rain soaking their bundles, and from the head of the slaves on which it is carried, streams over their whole bodies, generating colds, fevers, and consumptions.

This of the grass-picking is neither new nor unknown to colonists, for it has been general from time immemorial. The silence of the forty-one about it shows their unfairness in their statement; and, indeed, their whole system is founded in, and carried on by, intrigue and deceit. While of the grass-picking there is silence by the forty-one in their statement, of the extra labour in crop time there is no express limitation. The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* specifies five hours, and mentions only two spells, while the *Abstract Evidence* says some more fully-furnished estates having three spells, and weakly hands only two, though the most numerous; but now there is not mention of any more than two spells, by which there appears to be no amendment, but the reverse. Of late, however, by British legislation in the Crown colonies, the time of labour has been reduced to nine hours a-day throughout the whole

year.—*The Abolitionist by the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society*, No. 4, pp. 31, 32, who extract from the *London Anti-Slavery Reporter* for January 1831.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter* computes the time to thirteen or fourteen hours a-day, besides this of the grass—by the adding of which, at least, Africans believe the time may be computed to be before five to after seven, in which slaves are occupied during the time that is out of crop, which is from six to eight months; during crop, that lasts four or five months, there is an addition of five hours, that is from five in the morning to seven at night in the field, and to twelve in the mill, by the one-half of slaves, and by the other from twelve to five in the morning.—*Abstract Evidence*, pp. 56, 57.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 82, p. 298, says “that the night-work of crop time may be estimated at five hours more; namely, from seven in the evening till midnight by one-half of the gang, and from midnight till five in the morning by the other half alternately, amounting to sixteen hours and a half, besides the one hour and a half or two hours already mentioned, which make eighteen or eighteen and a half hours in the whole—only five or six hours for meals and repose.” Also, *Abstract Evidence*, pp. 56, 57. *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 75, p. 100, says “that Mr. Stephen has proved, from unquestionable testimony, confirmed by the very laws of the colonies, that their labour extends to fourteen, fifteen, and even for a great part of the year to eighteen; and on an average of the whole year to sixteen hours a-day.”

II.—With respect to support. 1st, Food; 2d, Raiment; 3d, Lodging; 4th, Rest and Sleep; which is all the reward that a slave enjoys: and herein is also included the way of this support being conveyed to slaves by food and raiment alone, and by these and land jointly, and by land alone, and by money alone, especially those who are hired by others.

With respect to food, which is common to man with the rest of the animal creation at large, as to its quantity: according to the statement published by the forty-one, the allowance on this article is as follows:—

1. Jamaica furnishes adequate provision grounds, or during drought three shillings and fourpence weekly to each slave.

2. Barbadoes only says necessary food, but neither states the kind nor the quantity.

3. St. Vincent assigns a portion of land, said to be adequate.

4. Grenada allows land, and in case of failure of the land, or of time to cultivate it, parties are to be examined upon oath, and the slave to have four shillings and sixpence in money, salt, and two pounds of salt fish weekly, wherein there is a great pretence; but this of the oath of the slave requires such qualifications as renders it inadmissible, as will afterwards be noticed, while any qualification for the oath of the owner or master there is none.

5. Dominica allots provision ground an acre, or else food, but the quantity of food is not stated.

6. St. Christopher refers to the article under Antigua.

7. Nevis neither prescribes food, nor land, nor money, in whole nor in part.

8. Bahamas appoints one peck of Indian corn, or twenty-one pints of wheat flour, or seven pints of rice, or fifty-six pounds of potatoes, escoas, or yams, a week, over and above a sufficient quantity of land, &c.

9. Tobago allows land said to be sufficient, or else; in lieu thereof, ample provision, but what quantity, either of land or of provision, is not prescribed.

10. Bermuda has no article for either food or land.

11. Antigua allows weekly nine pints of corn, or else eight of flour, or meal, or nine of oatmeal, or seven of rice, or eight pounds of biscuit, or twenty pounds of potatoes, or sixteen of eddoes, or thirty of plantains; and also one and a quarter of fish, or other salted provisions, or two and a half of fresh fish, except during crop, when this provision may be diminished a fifth. Where it is found necessary to give money, four shillings is the weekly sum; land and part of their provision may jointly be given, &c.

12. Demerara allots provision ground, one acre for



five negroes, and what is termed a reasonable weekly allowance, according to the custom of the colony.

The schedule of the weekly allowance of the united colonies of Demerary and Essequibo, of salt fish, or other salt provision, two pounds; if these be fresh, double the quantity, with half a pint of salt. Of plantains, or other farinaceous food, not less than forty-five pounds, or nine pints of corn, or beans, or eight of peas, or wheat, or rye flour, or Indian meal, or nine pints oatmeal, or seven pints rice, or eight pints Cassava flour, or eight pounds biscuit, or twenty pounds yams or potatoes, or sixteen pounds eddoes or tanios, to adult slaves; and what is considered to be a correspondent proportion to those under age.

Of these several colonies, the highest allowance for food by far is Bahamas; and yet, even there, to slaves exercised in labour, and exposed to open air, as has been already noticed, the allowance of food does not exceed the prison allowance in Jamaica—which is also, weekly, 21 pints of wheat flour, and seven herrings. And, according to the statement given even by the 41 colonists, the quantity of food in the rest of the colonies does not amount to much more than a third in general—bearing the proportion of eight pints to 21; and in some of the islands, a permission given to diminish even this scanty provision by a fifth-part during crop season. And hereby, as well as in other things, they show their complete fitness to provide for their bond-servants without the interference of British legislation. The supply of food is not only in general by far too scanty, but it is also sometimes coarse as to its quality—the refuse of what is given to the whites, and even sometimes half rotten; yea, sometimes, for want, slaves have been known to eat the putrid entrails of animals, as the *Abstract Evidence* referred to does prove, p. 58.—See No. 81, pp. 283, 284 of *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, with reference to Jamaica itself, of hunger, &c. In the *Abstract Evidence*, p. 59, Giles, Coor, Captain Smith, Davidson, Duncan, Harrison, and Dalrymple, agree that many of the slaves in the West Indies were thieves; but these all assert the cause to be hunger. The usual objects of their theft are said by Terry, Clappeson, Duncan,

Harrison, and the Dean of Middleham, to be provisions or food. Where slaves were well fed, they did not steal; but where they were ill fed, they stole at the hazard of their very lives; the truth of which circumstance was confirmed by the Dean of Middleham and Harrison, stating that several, in consequence of attempting to steal provisions, have been brought home wounded, and almost cut to pieces, by the watchmen. Respecting the decrease of slaves on one estate in Nevis occasioning an inquiry into the cause, the medical gentlemen said that the deaths generally proceeded from dirt-eating or mal de stomach; and this disease seemed to arise from debility, caused by hard labour, exposure to cold, want of nourishment, and indigestible, or ill-dressed food. One medical gentleman testified that he knew the negroes to have been at one time for six weeks without provisions except what they themselves procured.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 83, p. 321.

Though not designedly to expose the usage of slaves, nor to be against the system of slavery, but for the intended profit of proprietors, Dr. Collins, an eminent medical practitioner in St. Vincent's, where he became possessed of many slaves, though one of the most able zealots of the West Indian system, published a work entitled "Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies, which was so highly valued by some of the West Indian proprietors, that Mr. G. Hebbert, the agent of Jamaica, caused an extensive edition to be printed and circulated. And in this work Dr. Collins says—"With so scanty a pittance it is indeed possible for the soul and body to be held together for a considerable time, with no other resource. They (the negroes) may crawl about with feeble emaciated frames, but their attempts to wield the hoe prove abortive. They shrink from their toil; and, being urged to perseverance by stripes, you are soon obliged to receive them in the hospital; whence, unless your plan be speedily corrected, they depart but to the grave."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 82. Also, between the inmates of our gaols and penitentiaries, both when idle and put to

hard labour in England, Mr. Stephen draws a contrast.

"The English vagabond, or felon, when imprisoned for his crime, has a subsistence which, on the lowest general estimate that can be formed, is at least two-fold superior in nutritious value to that of the poor West Indian negro, whose freedom has been forfeited by no crime of his own, but solely by the deep publicly-acknowledged legislatively-recorded crime of the enlightened Christian land, perpetrated against himself or his African progenitors. The one is thus fed while in idleness; when forced to labour his subsistence is still greater. The other (the slave), though his forced and permanent labours are twice as great, has at best not half the food. Yet the former's allowances are limited by the necessity of the case—the necessity of saving his body from debility, sickness, and death. What then must be the consequences of giving less than half the subsistence to the ultra-laborious slave? Slaves who have land, though it were sufficient in quantity, yet want time to cultivate. The land may be at a distance; and, even when cleared by cultivation by the slave, may be taken by the master for his own use, substituting another far less cultivated for the use of the slave."—See pp. 243, 341.

With regard to this miserable support, being all the reward that slaves in general receive, I may adduce the testimony of Mr. Dwaris, a considerable proprietor of slaves in Jamaica, who tells us that, neither in Barbadoes, Grenada, Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica, Antigua, St. Christopher, Nevis, nor Tortola, the nine islands he visited, can slaves acquire any property by law, except for the benefit of their masters; nor can they claim any redress for injuries done them, either by their masters or by his delegates, or even by a third party, except through the master.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 82, p. 310. Of late in the Crown colonies the food is nearly tripled,—*Abolitionist*, p. 21, while the remaining chartered colonies remain as described.

2dly, With respect to clothing, as to its kind, very silly and coarse. Part of the dress is Osnaburgh, and except Bahamas, which allows annually two suits of

clothes, the rest allow only one suit, Jamaica not excepted, by the pretended institutes in behalf of slaves. One blanket is allowed only once in two years. In reference to these pretended institutes, by forty-one colonists, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 82, p. 297, says "As for the legal provision of clothing, it is almost too ludicrous to be seriously mentioned, were it not for the melancholy consequences which it involves; one suit of clothing in the year to men and women, and of such clothing made of the vilest and most flimsy materials. What must be the state of this annual suit at the close of the year, if it indeed be worn or washed during that time? Will it be pretended that such an allowance can provide for comfort, or even decency? It would be utterly inadequate even to cover the nakedness of these human cattle, if they have no other resource, which many of them have not. The whole value of it does not exceed that of the cloth of one of the pampered horses of any one of the forty-one subscribers to this address. In the *Evidence*, Woolrich and Coor agree that, in so far as their knowledge reached, the masters did not expend for the clothing of the slaves more than two shillings and sixpence, or three shillings a-year; and Cook says, "that one-half of them go almost naked in the field," p. 59. What a naughty haughtiness in these forty-one, with others, to have their dignity and grandeur supported at such an expense and in such a way. In the Crown colonies clothing is doubled of late."—*Abolitionist*.

3dly, As to lodging, including houses and bedding.—The *Evidence*, p. 59, Woolrich says, "that their houses are small square huts, built with poles and thatched at the top and sides with a kind of bamboo, and built by the slaves themselves, who die in the middle of these huts before a small fire, without having any bedding; some obtain a board or mat to lie on before the fire. A few of the head slaves have cabins of boards raised from the floor, but not bedding, except some who have a coarse blanket." Mr. Rees described their houses nearly in the same manner, without bed or bedding, some sleeping on the ground, and others on a board raised above it; and the present pretended insti-

tutes only allow a blanket once in two years. Also *Evidence*, p. 113, on pregnant women.—*View of Negro Slavery*, p. 51, the description differs not much, especially as to bed and bed-clothing.

4thly, As to rest or cessation from labour, and sleep, which comprehend all the reward that slaves receive; this sleep being after such long-continued toil of body and much fatigue is surely very desirable, needful, and may be very useful; for Solomon says, "The sleep of the labourer is sweet, whether he eat little or much." However, of the time for rest it is so abridged, especially in the crop season, that in the *Evidence*, p. 57, Dalrymple says "that they are obliged to work as long as they can keep awake, or stand on their legs; and that sometimes they fall asleep through excess of fatigue, when their arms are caught in the mill and torn off, several of whom he had seen;" and Cook says, "he knew one, and he had heard of several instances of the same kind."

V. Marriage.—As a cause of barrenness, the *Evidence* says, p. 112, "It appears that there is no attention to the marriage of the slaves, so that one man should be restricted to one wife; but that there is a promiscuous intercourse amongst one another as they please, (General Tottenham, Captain Smith, Sir George Young, Foster, Coor,) that this is not only the case of the negroes one with another, but with the negro women with the whites, the latter violating the chastity of the former at discretion." The Dean of Middleham, Captain Smith, Davidson, Cook, Harrison, Coor, and Dalrymple say, that the women are sent for by the overseers, (says Cook) for the purposes they must be flogged; and to such a pitch has Dalrymple known this intercourse to proceed, that female slaves are offered by their masters even to those who visit them, that he has known compulsion used to oblige such to submit to prostitution. And the females are obliged to bring the price of their prostitution, and punished when they return without full wages, p. 61.

And now, lately, *A View of Negro Slavery*, published London, 1823, says of Jamaica, p. 41.—"With

scarcely any exceptions, all of the whites residing on plantations live in a state of open and avowed concubinage with black women. The general profligacy in this respect is perfectly notorious and undisguised—so undisguised, indeed, that when visitors stay all night on an estate, they are accustomed, on going to bed, to desire the domestic who attends them to bring a girl, and this they do with as little ceremony as they would ask for a candle;—and one effect of it is, that the young women on estates, instead of becoming mothers of children, are at an early age made the mere instruments of licentious gratification,” p. 42. There is no regular marriage instituted among the slaves, p. 57. The propriety of matrimony is seldom impressed on the minds of the negroes by the clergy, or by any white persons. Indeed, the latter themselves show the example of a libidinous course of life, and follow that promiscuous intercourse which can scarcely be justified in savages.

Whatever pretence there is by colonists about the marriage of their slaves, it is only designed and calculated to deceive. In Jamaica, the law relative to marriage serves rather to obstruct and discourage it (see *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 60, pp. 193—195); because knowledge is required in the slaves, and this knowledge and the means of it are denied them, and this is the case with the rest of the colonies at large. *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 86, p. 374, says, that in Trinidad there has been only one marriage in two years; in St. Lucia, in two years, two marriages; at the Cape of Good Hope, none; in Mauritius, only two in fifteen months.

Now here it may be remarked, that though, for a while, slaves were reckoned a species inferior to the human, and are yet so in some measure, and dealt with not only in such a merciless way, but with such wanton cruelty, and open exposure of the very females,—what inconsistency with holiness, morality, dignity, and honour, for white men to deal so with these females—yea, for the very haughty of the colonists themselves—which, if slaves be not human, is beastiality!

*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 76, p. 138, extracts from the *Christian Recorder* of Jamaica. “From

the governor (we speak not of the present) to the slave an organised system of open and shameless concubinage has prevailed for generations past, and still prevails through the whole mass of society, exhibiting a congregated accumulation of the grossest moral putrescence, that perhaps any place on the whole earth can present to view. With the exception of those who are married, (and not always those) and a few rare instances, members of council, members of assembly, custodes of parishes, magistrates, common-council men, vestry-men, merchants, masters in chancery, doctors, judges, barristers, attorneys, proprietors, and attorneys on estates, overseers, book-keepers, clerks, tradesmen, whites, browns, blacks—all in short have every man his house-keeper, (*Jamaica parlance*) established in open whoredom, living in his house or attached to it according to circumstances. Those connected with the wealthy live in splendour and notoriety, and all are kept without the slightest attempt at concealment. In the towns they are openly and avowedly installed in the houses of the great; the residence of almost all, from the chief magistrates to those of the lowest grade, presenting the same exhibition,—a mistress with coloured children in abundance. The overseers have their establishments, and each book-keeper and servant in more humble imitation has his attendant. The attorney for estates has his own peculiar friend on the property favoured with his residence, and a variety of similar subsidiary attachments proportioned to the number of places under his charge. There is no exaggeration here.—From Morant Point to Negril this is the system that covers the land.

“ Seduction is not esteemed a crime in any part of Jamaica, &c. In a court of justice, we have seen a senator openly in evidence, and on oath speaking of his family connexions, and publishing his shame; and neither bench, bar, nor public at all surprised, even at the simple impudence of the disclosure, p. 139. Be it remembered that out of upwards of three hundred thousand slaves in Jamaica, two hundred and fifty thousand at least are field slaves.

“ Among a mixed population of four hundred thou-

sand, probably upwards of three-fourths of the adults are united in giving honour to seduction, and impurity over marriage, and the bed undefiled." Extracts by the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* from the *Christian Reader* of Jamaica, where this has been written, the authors of which challenge the community among whom they reside to controvert the truth, &c.

Sabbath-breaking, blaspheming, infidelity, alienation from God, extortion, covetousness, strifes, contentions, cruelties, pervade the length and breadth of the land, &c.

After the death of his concubine, Sieur Sènèque of the Grand Port compelled a married slave to live with him in adultery, but she, sick of his brutality by seeing him guilty with another, refused to comply, upon which he abused her by striking her, and shutting her into confinement, from which, after five or six months, she escaped and complained to the protector, which occasioned an examination, upon which the villain said, that he only said to her that if she would live with him he would use her well; and here, even by his own confession, there was seduction of the woman from her husband.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 871, pp. 412—414, of Mauritius. The complaint was 4th May, 1830.

See also *Evidence*, p. 113, Causes of barrenness, over wrought, punishment during pregnancy, damp beds in which also the infants are exposed to cold, and among which is unhallowed promiscuous intercourse.

When it was proposed by government that the marriage of slaves shall be to all intents and purposes binding and effectual in law, the planters of Demerara remarked, that the civil rights acquired by marriage were so numerous and complicated that it is found impracticable to adopt or modify this expression; they therefore proposed the following clause: "provided that such marriage shall, in no manner, confer on the slaves any of those civil rights which by marriage are acquired by persons of free condition; nor subject the slaves to any penal infliction, the effects of which might destroy the rights, or injure the property of their masters." The idea of marriage where slaves are the absolute property of their masters, liable to be seized and



sold for their masters debts is absurd; it confers no right, it gives no security, it affords no benefit," &c.—*Edinburgh Instructor*, vol. xxx. No. 20, p. 649.

The report of Manchester says, "that, generally speaking, slave marriages are not opposed, unless the parties belong to different proprietors; that the state of the whole population, however, whether slave or free, is in this respect degraded and degrading to an awful extent." *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 90, p. 477.

Of the state of things above sixty years ago, what a heart-cutting account is given of the debauchery and brutal, and worse than brutal, abuse of the females in the ships, and in the West Indies, with other cruelties, is to be seen, given by Gustavus Vassa, pp. 90, 91.

The *Abolitionist* by the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society, (p. 2.) says, "It is a fact, that unmarried overseers and book-keepers are kept, as a matter of preference, on almost all the estates; that from such situations married men are openly interdicted; and that the increasing number of brown slaves in the islands bears testimony to the wicked policy of the measure. It is a fact, that negro custom has sanctioned, and almost sanctified, a more enduring connexion between two slaves—it has been often rent asunder by the brutal passion of the overseer—and that no alternative has remained to the injured parties, but, under the terror of the lash, to submit, in heart-bursting silence, to the wanton and capricious indignity. It is a fact, that the iron-hearted despot of a black harem drives his own brown offspring to the labour of the field; if she be rebellious, and fondly hope that the yearnings of a father's heart might plead for her, he lays his own child prostrate and exposed upon the ground, to be scourged before a whole plantation; and, even if he do not, in the mad fury of his hate, thus water the earth with blood and tears of her who sprang from his own body, he willingly leaves her, as his best prospect of mercenary advantage, to the constrained embrace of the book-keeper, or the black gang-man." In the enumeration of the procuring causes of the infliction of punishment, this is added, (p. 37.) "Does the wife or daughter of a slave refuse to submit to the embrace of

a brutal master, or still more brutal overseer—she is flogged into compliance. Does the husband or the father interpose—he is flogged into submission.”

VII.—Liability to unjust arbitrary cruelty in punishment, which, in its kinds, is by the cart-whip, cat-stocks, collar, prison, treadmill, &c.

In giving a brief view, I cannot do more justice respecting this point, wherein there is no justice, than by giving a statement of punishment as appointed and allowed by the respective places included in the manifesto, published by the forty-one colonists, in their pretended institutes in behalf of slaves, bearing the name of “Statement of the various slave-meliorating provisions, enacted in the British West India colonies,”—which plans and their institutes respecting punishment are as follows:—

Jamaica says, that no slave shall receive more than ten lashes, except in presence of his owner or overseer, &c. nor in the presence of such more than thirty-nine in one day, nor until recovered from former punishment. Ten days are allowed in the work-house; and also there twenty lashes without a justice’s warrant, by which also collar and chains are to be used. *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 82, p. 300, says, that the ten lashes are neither new nor improved, but stand forth in the consolidated slave act, 1788, and in every intermediate renewal of it.

Barbadoes substitutes the cat for the whip, and pretends decency in punishing of females, and disallows collar, chains, or iron.

St. Vincent limits the number of stripes to ten at one time, and to thirty-nine in a week; and disallows collar and chains, unless by permission of a magistrate to a runaway.

Grenada limits to fifteen lashes, or in presence of another free person to twenty-five; any greater number to be by a magistrate only; and disallows the repetition on the same day.

Dominica substitutes the cat; restricts the number of stripes to six by an inferior, to ten by an overseer, to twenty by a manager, and to thirty-nine by an owner;

and prohibits these several inflictions being repeated, until the person be recovered; and permits no punishment to exceed ten stripes at the time of the offence, or during the day; professes decency in the punishing of females; prohibits collars, or chains, except to run-aways.

St. Christopher limits punishment to twenty-three stripes in one day for any offence whatever, disallows any further until the offender be recovered, and restricts to twelve stripes on the day in which the offence is committed, and to the like number, unless in the presence of any other free person; professes decency in punishing females.

Navis prescribes the chastisement of females to be by a bunch of reeds, not exceeding twenty stripes over the back and shoulders, and forbids indecent exposure; but the punishment of the males is not defined, but said to be what shall be moderate. "The expressed punishment of females will direct to view what that of males ought to be."

Bahamas professes to prohibit the whip or the cat to compel to labour in the field, and, when punishment is inflicted, not to exceed thirty-nine lashes, nor repeated on the same day, or before recovered; females to be punished privately; and allows flogging to be commuted for solitary confinement, field, horse, or bed stocks, &c.; and prohibits collars, chains, irons, weights.

Tobago professes the disallowance of the exposure of females under their punishment; restricts the punishment by the driver to the express order of the owner or manager, limits the number of stripes by the overseer to six, by the owner to twelve, except in the presence of other free persons, and not to exceed twenty in any case, and not to exceed twelve in a day, and not to be repeated until recovered.

Bermuda says, that jail punishments shall be by labour in the tread-mill, but what other punishment is to be in itself substituted, inflicted, or quantity, is not expressed.

Antigua prohibits the iron collar and chain, unless to run-aways; prescribes pregnant women's punishment to be by confinement; uses the cat; and prohi-

bits the number of stripes from exceeding six at one time, unless the owner, or manager, or jail-keeper, &c. be present, and on no account to exceed thirty-nine stripes at once for one offence, nor on the same day, nor until fourteen days, nor until recovery.

Demerara professes to disallow the carrying the whip, or any other instrument in the field as a badge of authority, or as a stimulus to labour; and forbids the whip to be used, except for a fault previously committed, and declared to be a misdemeanour; prohibits the whip from females above ten years of age; by the prescription of the governor, substitutes solitary confinement, not exceeding three days, and not to exceed thirteen hours without sufficiency of food and water; males to receive no more than twenty-five lashes, either for any one offence, or in one day, nor so long as unhealed scars remain, &c.; and requires a record book of punishments to be reported on oath by the manager every six months.

In the six Crown colonies, the use of the whip is disallowed by law.

In none of the chartered colonies has the flogging of females been abolished by law, and in practice it is still continued, and in none more shamelessly and cruelly than in boasted-of Jamaica itself, of which recent parliamentary papers furnish abundant proof.—See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 71, p. 481. No. 76, &c.

Barbadoes maintained that to forbid by legislative enactment the flogging of females would be productive of the most injurious consequences; and concerning the whip, Mr. Barret, himself a large owner of slaves in Jamaica, in his place in the assembly, asserted that the cart-whip was a base, cruel, debasing, detestable instrument of torture, thirty-nine lashes of which might be made more grievous than five hundred with the cat, though the latter was inflicted only after solemn trial, and the former at the pleasure of an individual, at his sole command, as caprice and passion dictated.

But here, in the statement even by the forty-one colonists, of the enactments of the respective colonies, there is an allowance to punishment of various kinds,

and it is just by owners, overseers, and masters, that this is often inflicted, or else by men who are appointed for the purpose, who, if they do not flog to the employer's pleasure, are flogged themselves; and what comfort or mitigation is this,—the presence of the owner or master—to the poor suffering slave?

Besides this, what may hinder punishment though there be no free person present, and the more free from inspection so as to render responsible the more opportunity to abuse? and, besides, it is not likely that one who is free will inform on another.

Though the punishment in kind and measure at one time is specified, yet what is to hinder the punishment from being augmented or repeated? and in truth this is just as cruelty will inflict again and again, while from this for the poor slave there is no shelter but in the grave.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 86, p. 375, and No. 87, p. 400, informs of lashes to the number of one hundred—yea, of one slave who bore two hundred, besides additional punishment. Yea, with a severe instrument, was a boy punished five times within the space of twenty-four hours. P. 380 informs of slave punishments in Demerara, from 1st May 1829 to 30th April 1830. Twenty thousand five hundred published by the protector, while the three former years' punishment was concealed; while by the protector's report for the said time there were above one hundred complaints well authenticated, and carefully transmitted by *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 84, p. 333—346. *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 76, p. 137, Mr. Lambie saw large spaces of raw flesh as large and white as his hand on both parts of the man's body, &c. p. 140—143, on Kitty Hilton.

In Berbice in two years, from 1st January 1828 to 31st December 1829, the number of punishments was twenty-one thousand two hundred and forty, together with many complaints. The half-year's returns of punishments in Trinidad, seven thousand nine hundred and twenty-four,—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 86, p. 372. St. Lucia in 1828 was one thousand and twelve, and in 1829 it was one thousand one hundred and twenty-five. In fifteen months, complaints two hun-

dred and twenty, Mauritius,—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 36, p. 374, No. 37, p. 386. All these sufferings are in the Crown colonies; and if there the case of things be so, what must it be in other colonies, where there are no responsible protectors, and where the evils of the prison-house are only exposed by accident, from which concealment there is the less restraint arising from fear? And, indeed, what is it from No. 63 to No. 87, inclusive, but a representation of a scene of horrible abuse?

While, from the condition of poor slaves, they are not able to evade abuse in punishment, from their condition they are not able to obtain redress; for, 1st, That which by colonists' enactment is allowed is unjust. 2d, It may be exceeded in kind, quantity, and frequency also, and who may hinder this? On the articles of evidence, trial, and defence of several colonies as they lie in order, the evidence of slaves runs as follows:

For the admission of the evidence of a slave, Jamaica requires from the slave a certificate of his baptism, and that he understands the nature of an oath, and refuses complaint beyond a twelvemonth's date.

Barbadoes requires certificates of baptism and religious instruction, &c.

St. Vincent refuses evidence against owners.

Grenada says, "No slave shall be prevented by his owner from giving evidence where required." But by whom is it to be required? It is not to be expected that owners will require it against themselves, and herein slaves' evidence is denied; because it ought to be admitted where the slave has a desire made known by application.

Dominica admits the evidence of baptized slaves understanding the nature of an oath.

St. Christopher rejects the slave's evidence against his owner or representative, and requires the slave to have a certificate from a clergyman, that he understands the nature of an oath.

Nevis rejects the evidence of the slave in capital charges against his owner or his representative.

Bahamas says, slaves tried for capital offences shall be tried in all respects as free persons are tried; but

this only relates to a charge being pursued against the slave, and not to the slave being the injured complainant.

Tobago professes to admit the evidence of slaves in all cases, civil or criminal. But here may be allusion to application to civil judges, from which the slave may be precluded by distance, or allowance of time or freedom.

Bermuda, in its course by rotation, on the subject produces nothing at all on evidence; but on the article of protection speaks as if the chief justice may be a party interested, by which he may be partial and justice may be denied.

Antigua says that, from the early enactments, it would appear that slave evidence has been received for and against each other; and that slaves, when witnesses, have always been examined without oath, referring to an act, 15th March 1821, establishing a Court of King's Bench and Grand Sessions, for the trial of criminal slaves. But here the slave is the supposed subject of crime against whom the suit is directed; and perhaps the owner or his representative, the pursuer; and herein the evidence of slaves without oath against the accused slave, would be nothing in his favour, whether the fault was real or avowedly alleged against the owner, or representative, or even against other slaves.

Demerara professes to admit the evidence of slaves; and says that, on any criminal prosecution against a slave, one or more advocates in behalf of the slave shall be retained at the public expense. Now, here, there is doubtless something of professed favour for the slave, especially where in the case advocates could not be retained at his expense; but herein, as in the whole, the burden of them is against the slave as accused, whether guilty or not; and while, to any instances wherein he is guilty, he is forced, by the circumstances of his condition, and from that wherein he is not guilty as the accused, or where he is the sufferer, any provision that is made for his evidence is to him of little avail.

The incapability of redress to slaves arises from—

1st, The constituted authorities being sometimes at the distance even of 30 miles from the injured; so that application is almost impracticable—2dly, From the character and disposition of these authorities, being proprietors, or else having their incomes from the produce of the estate, so that they often either waive, or else resent, the application made by the injured. Often the master is the sole prosecutor, witness, judge, jury, and executioner.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 84, p. 350. The constituting of owners and managers of slaves to be their protectors, is appointing the wolf to be the guardian of the lamb. The guilt of the Rev. Mr. Bridges was, by the testimony of witnesses, fully established; and yet, out of seventeen of the Council of Protection, thirteen voted for his acquittal, and only four for his conviction.—*Edin. Instructor*, vol. 30, No. 9, p. 651. Upon a slave complaining to the protector of abuse from the master, the protector, on the ground of a medical certificate, returned the slave to his master, to receive twenty-five stripes, in the presence of all the other slaves of the plantation.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 87, p. 387, on Mauritius, who resented the exposure by the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* some time before. The not publishing the three years' punishments in Demerara, evidenced an unwillingness in the protector to expose the tyrants, though this was required by law, and necessary in behalf of slaves. From repeated attempts for redress to a slave, not thereby liable to future punishment, because the complaint was by the owner of the slave, and against the protector of another estate, for abuse, the case being brought forward, while some declined interference, the case being urged upon others, after a first, a second, & third, yea, a fourth meeting of Council of Protection, the last of which was 19th April 1830, who passed the case without any redress to the sufferer; upon which the pursuer said that Councils of Protection are a mockery.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 83, p. 318, 319. The screening of William Ogilvy Chapman, Windsor Castle estate, also demonstrated partiality and injustice.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 68, p. 69. Also, for complaint of the want of food, and of being



compelled to labour on Sabbath, eight slaves were punished with thirty stripes each, in the presence of the whole gang, by order of the Assistant-Protector, to whom the complaint was made.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 87, p. 387.—3dly, From the frame of the law. Whatever pretence there is in the pretended institutes, by the forty-one, in behalf of slaves, and of their evidence being admitted; yet these institutes are so detached, elliptical, inconvenient, and inconclusive, that, with reference to the evidence of slaves, all is of little avail. The law admits the evidence of a single slave, unbaptized and unsworn, to convict a fellow slave to die; but against the owner or master, the law excludes the evidence of slaves unbaptized, or even baptized, or any minister, unless he be a minister of the Established Church. The law excludes the evidence of slaves not sufficiently known to some minister of the Establishment, in order to obtain from him a certificate of a good character and repute, and of being sufficiently instructed in the principles of religion to understand the nature of an oath. From a Dissenter a certificate will not answer. Yea, a certificate to the same effect from the proprietor, or from the attorney, is required, which will prevent the slave from being heard as witness in any case where the proprietor or the attorney has a motive for preventing it. See Lord Bathurst, in his dispatch, 3d April, 1827.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 82, p. 306.

Now, though sometimes an oath be necessary, and though knowledge and integrity are always necessary in every one who would aver by oath; yet, to require an oath of a slave, and knowledge which his condition does not afford, and of which he himself is not possessed, together with other qualifications not necessary for an oath, and pretend the admissibility of his evidence, upon his having these qualifications, is downright mockery. As well offer a thing to a man, but stand on the other side of a river over which he cannot reach. On a view of investigation by the Board of Magistrates, six indictments were preferred against a man by the law officers of the Crown—one for murder, two for manslaughter, and three for maltreatment; but

they were either ignored by the Grand Jury, or else failed from the non-admissibility of slave evidence.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 83, p. 323.

Even a heathen king said, in persecution, that a man should have liberty to speak. Acts. xxv. 16.

Because a slave would not consent to give over attending a chapel for worship, and persuade his fellow-slave to do the same, he was put into a work-house, and in chains, and flogged. After some means used, he was liberated, but so cut up with flogging that he appeared to be dying. For several weeks he was confined to bed, and obliged to lie on his stomach day and night, his back being a mass of corruption. The only answer given to the communication of Government about this, by Mr. Betty, was, that he was entitled to punish his slave, and that in so doing he acted according to law, and that none, not even Government itself, had a right to interfere, *Edinburgh Instructor*, vol. 30, No. 9, p. 659.

The conduct of Mr. and Mrs. Moss, in the Bahamas, for murdering their female, was only confinement.

In the institutes by the forty-one, on the article of trial and evidence, Jamaica requires baptism as a qualification for the slave, and the understanding the nature of an oath; and rejects complaint against a free person beyond twelve months. Barbadoes and St. Vincent allow slave evidence.

Thus poor slaves are subject to punishment without desert or proof.

I may here also mention the two protectors, with reference to Sabbath, which I will yet have occasion to notice, which all demonstrates the incompetency of these men for that office; while the whole renders the application by slaves unavailing for redress for the past, or yet for protection for the future—yea, renders poor injured slaves more liable to abuse by resentment; all which hinders from attempt; by all which means the abuser is rendered more and more hardened and secure in his course of abuse.

In *Abstract Evidences*, from pp. 62 to 81, inclusive, what a scene of abuse without redress is disclosed!

Whatever property may be acquired by some slaves,

through their own industry, and the humanity of some individual proprietors, yet, from what has been said about food and raiment being the condition of the great general mass of slaves, how preposterous to speak about law for the protection of their property, while their condition does not afford an opportunity capable of acquiring property; and since the law is not effectual in protecting themselves, and even in an individual case, where a small property has been acquired, when it has been robbed by the master, and complaint has brought punishment on the complainer.

In the Crown colonies, of late, the evidence of the slave in a court of justice is equal with that of the whites, and the driving-whip is also abolished; but arbitrary punishment is still allowed, under certain regulations.—*Abolitionist*, p. 14.

Subject to separation from one another, as acquaintances and friends, by sale.

Though the institutes already referred unto pretend that, when mother and children are seized for sale, they shall be sold together, and not separated when the child is under twelve, or fourteen, or sixteen years, as expressed by the acts of the different places, yet the mother may be brought to sale, and the child left at home; and there is no law to prohibit the separation of families by private sale, and levies are permitted without regard to family ties.—See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 82, p. 304. Burgess, Agent of Jamaica, on 15th April, 1831, indeed said, but was not able to point out any clause in the Statute Book of Jamaica in which the practice in question was denounced and proscribed. The character of those who would go to Africa to steal, or yet be the receivers of stolen men and women, will not allow us to believe that the bowels of sympathy move so far as to listen to the yearning bowels of affection among slaves toward one another.

When it was proposed, in December, 1826, in the Assembly of Jamaica, "that it shall not be lawful, in cases of sale, to separate married people from each other, or from their issue, if under ten years of age, provided the parties belong to the same owner," the proposal was rejected. One member said that it

would be hard upon a man who owed a small sum of £50 to have his whole family sold by a marshal. Another said that it would be violating the rights of property to dictate to the master how he should dispose of it—that he had a right to sell one or more of his slaves according to his wants and inclinations, in the same way as he had to dispose of any other property. The clause, therefore, he considered as an invasion on property.—*Royal Gazette of Jamaica*, Dec. 1826.

On manumission, see *Evidence*, p. 74; giving free, p. 75; by hanging, and also framing pretence for execution, for which Jamaica allowed the owner £40, pp. 78, 79.

In the Crown colonies, members of families are not to be separated.

Some pleaded for compensation, at the ratio of £100 per slave. Now, from this, two or three questions arise:—1st, If the slaves are worth £100 to proprietors; how much are they worth in themselves, or what is their intrinsic value? 2d, If it be reason or law in the Indies for the slave to produce his certificate of freedom, in order to be free from seizure, surely, on the same footing, proprietors had need prove their right to slaves; and though proprietors did not go to Africa, yet the receipt is reckoned as ill as the theft. 3d, Since the master has no legal right to slaves, their value should be given to themselves. As to manumission by purchase, to steal a man, in his own person, or in his progenitors, and to speak about a privilege being granted him of obtaining liberty for himself, or yet for his child, for money, how preposterous and absurd! Yea, a man, though free and belonging to none, unless he can produce certificate to that effect, is liable to be apprehended, and sold at public market; and yet colonists cannot substantiate a just claim.

The slave is destitute of the means of salvation, including the want of the Bible, the want of capacity to read, and of means to learn to read, the want of ministers and of divine ordinances, and the want of time to attend ordinances; even the want of the seventh day—yea, punished for attending worship.—*Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, vol. 30, No. 9, p. 650.

The circumstances of the slave necessitate him either to cultivate his ground on Sabbath, or to attend market in the morning, in some places till seven, in Jamaica till eleven; and sometimes the slave is at the distance often, or even fifteen or twenty miles; and his going to market, and returning home, occupies a great part of Sabbath, and fatigues the slave, being under the scorching sun. Yea, by going to market on any other day but Sabbath, the slave is liable to be apprehended, and sold for his master's debts; and though Jamaica has exempted the slave from arrest on Saturday, yet it denies him that day. The Governor of the Cape of Good Hope classed as works of necessity on Sabbath, plowing and sowing the land, completing other agricultural operations, reaping and securing the crops, pruning vines, gathering and housing grapes, making and manufacturing wine, going journeys, carrying letters, &c. The Governor of St. Lucia considered, as justifying compulsory labour on Sabbath, grinding and boiling off the canes and juice remaining from the preceding evening—the plucking, drying, and preserving of coffee, &c.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, p. 329. See also Mauritius, p. 330. Now, if such may be allowed, what may be disallowed? and hereby the pitiable condition of poor slaves is more and more developed, appearing to be not only under proprietors and masters who are avaricious and cruel, but under the superintendence and inspection of those who, as well as the former, are as impious, cruel, and unjust, in disregard to divine authority respecting the Sabbath, and depriving slaves of it for spiritual benefit, and for temporal rest.

The recommendation of the British government was that Sabbath markets should be abolished, and another day in lieu appointed for markets, but the legislature of Jamaica has not complied herewith, nor do colonists even pretend this. Yea, the keeping of markets in Jamaica till eleven o'clock on Sabbath formerly had no existence in the Statute Book of Jamaica,—surely here is no new improvement. Even in the Crown colonies, and in Grenada and Tobago, in lieu of Sabbath no day has been given. Of Mauritius, with some small

exceptions formerly mentioned, the Rev. Mr. Denny says, that there are here about seventy thousand slaves in a state of entire heathen ignorance of every thing that relates to God and goodness.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 87, p. 386; and the same page informs us of some compelled to work on Sabbath. One to seek work, and bring four francs a-day. Another in the fourth month of her pregnancy severely flogged and obliged to earn as much as the former. Another received fifty stripes, and compelled to work on sabbath, from four in the morning till seven in the evening, as on other days, and has not sufficiency of food nor time for it.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 90, complains of the deficiency of instruction of slaves, and of the incompetency, yea, the unsuitableness of the manner by book-keepers; and says of them, p. 478, "Few, if any, of these pretended instructors of our enslaved brethren in the Word and ways of God are to be found, who are not living in open and avowed violation of the laws of chastity, and of the sanctity of the Lord's day," &c. &c. And in p. 478 says of Barbadoes, that the state of things seems to have rapidly deteriorated; that the rector of St. Lucia said, subordinate white servants as well as slaves are employed, especially during crop, in the business of the plantation to so late an hour of the Sabbath morning as to prevent their attendance on public worship. The Sabbath market, which appeared to be discountenanced in 1828, has been revived during 1829 to such a degree that slaves are seen, during the greater part of the day, passing by the church with articles of traffic. Sabbath dancing is promoted as a matter of gainful speculation, by the individual who makes the necessary preparation for it, and is carried to an injurious extent. The dancing commences at an early hour in the afternoon, with flags flying, drums beating, and such a savage uproar, that a stranger would think himself anywhere rather than in a Christian land, &c. Nothing can be more injurious to the young slaves, especially to the females, nothing can present more temptations to fraud, stealing, and every other vice, &c. P. 480 complains

also of markets on Sabbath, and of the market adjoining the church; and p. 472 of St. Thomas in the East, that the profanation of the Sabbath generally, still continues to be the reproach of our community, and is the greatest obstacle to the increase of religion.

The *Abolitionist*, by the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society, p. 4, after asserting and describing concubinage as the characteristic in the West India Islands, and of the participation of the married ladies therein, says, "that these concubines, and their more criminal supporters, are regularly admitted by the established clergy, as sponsors for children at the baptismal font; and that, to crown the whole farce of Creole religious profession, the licentious book-keepers, the despot leaders of the Eleusinian orgies of a plantation, have recently been appointed, under high sanction, the religious catechists of the youthful slave, to expound to the pitiable offspring of their own promiscuous intercourse the vows taken in solemn mockery by their unholy godfathers and godmothers."

Many of the colonists have often said, that it is by religious instruction that the slave can be fitted for freedom; and yet instruction, and time, and the means for instruction are withheld; and this also renders baptism of little avail.—See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 37, especially No. 60.—Though by order in council lately, Sabbath labour for the master, and also Sabbath markets are disallowed, yet by this order there is no provision for the slave to attend markets on any other day.

Through the whole process of slavery, from the capture of slaves in Africa unto their graves, how much of Gen. xlii. 21; we heard not the anguish of his soul! How cruel and wicked so to use the creatures, the reasonable creatures of God, though they neither made resistance nor complaint!

Dominica says, "Every owner or manager shall provide for his slaves a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome food, dry and comfortable lodging, suitable clothing, and medical aid and advice, and comfortably maintain all old, and infirm, and diseased slaves on his estate, the whole under the penalty of £100 for each

omission." Now here is said to be under penalty the whole, which, whether it be meant jointly or separately, yet comprehends all these specified things, among which is even advice which is necessary for all, and especially to slaves in the provision of securing, to whom by penalty there is a great display of humanity and kindness. But has there never been a failure of giving advice?—or has ever the penalty of £100 been known to have been exacted? Oh, here are humane and generous laws! but in reality it is only in pretence by men in sheep's clothing designedly to deceive.

Slaves have medicine and cordials of wine, and medical men in abundance in pretence, but in reality they have cruel tormentors of masters and drivers, causing the blood stream from their bodies instead of wine and medicine being applied.

It is very observable, in the pretended institutes in behalf of slaves, what a number of large sums by fine or penalty is annexed to the ill-using of the slave. But when it is recollected that these penalties are made by owners and masters, to be executed often by the owner or master, it is no wonder that they are great in number and magnitude, to make a pretence of such fortification against encroachment on the slaves. However, this pretence is nearly the same as was made by a captain in a regiment, who was a smuggler of Highland whisky, and who had a large quantity lodged about a farm town in the Mearns, of which he was informed and sent to apprehend; upon which, to conceal his guilt, and, in pretence of zeal against the affair, he ordered his men to shoot any one about the farm who would seek to hinder them from searching or seizing the unlawfully smuggled whisky. Pretty fellow, it was his own, and he had apprised the people of the farm of this mandate given to his men, and removed the whisky before his men reached the farm!

How incoherent and even incongruous in these institutes for Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Bahamas, to profess to punish the injurers of slaves by rape or murder with death, without benefit of clergy. Now, though punishment ought always to be suited to the nature, and proportioned to the degree of



the crime, and regulated by the law of God, which to rapine and murder justly annexes death without any exemption; to show the divine displeasure against these sins—to maintain order in his government—to effectually prevent any liability from the criminal—and to be a warning to others; yet from what part of God's law, or for what reason, would what would, by divine appointment, be a benefit in the other world for eternity, be withheld?

The remedy from sin is just for the guilty; and while all are guilty, needing this remedy, the more guilty the more needy, and the offer of the remedy can be made without the palliation of the guilt—yea, to the greater exhibition of its malignity; and to withhold the remedy, is to shut the miserable creature into hell, to be a miserable rebel without relief; and to continue a system that renders so liable to these crimes, and also to punish them, is very incoherent and doubly guilty.

The Crown colonies, in their name and number of population, are as follows:—

Demerara, .....	70,000
Barbice, .....	21,000
St. Lucia, .....	13,500
Trinidad, .....	23,000
Cape of Good Hope, .....	35,500
Mauritius, .....	76,000
	<hr/>
	239,000

#### CHARTERED.

Jamaica, .....	331,000
Barbadoes, .....	81,000
Grenada, .....	24,500
St. Vincent, .....	23,500
Antigua, .....	30,000
St. Christopher, .....	19,500
Dominica, .....	14,500
Tobago, .....	12,700
Nevis, .....	9,000
Montserrat, .....	6,300
Tortola, .....	5,400
Bahamas, .....	9,500
Bermuda, .....	4,650
	<hr/>
	571,250

Honduras, a small settlement on the continent of America, neither Crown nor chartered, but a dependency on Jamaica, containing, 2,450

From the seizure of poor captivated creatures in Africa, through all the process by traders, merchants, colonists, owners, masters, overseers, drivers, &c. the mournful effect on all these orders is so hardening, that they become as callous and void of feeling as the inert steel to pierce the breast of a man, or as the powder that, by an explosion in an instant, blows thousands in the air. See the progress in the process of depravity, and judicial hardness, in the slave trade, animadverted on in *Edinburgh Instructor*, vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 646, 647. No doubt the conscience of Joseph's brethren accused them.—See *Abolitionist*, p. 2.

The pretended new improved institutes, in behalf of slaves, published by forty-one colonists dated 29th April, 1831, to which I have frequently referred, were designed to counteract the effect of the late petitions to Parliament, as well as to oppose the London Anti-Slavery Society; and by the forty-one are directed to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, under the professed relation of fellow-countrymen, wherein these forty-one say—"We, the undersigned persons, possessing property in the West India colonies, have seen, with regret and astonishment, an address to the people of Great Britain, by the London Anti-Slavery Society, calling on all the people in this kingdom, who prefer humanity to oppression, truth to falsehood, freedom to slavery, to support those candidates only to represent them in Parliament who have determined upon adopting measures for the speedy annihilation of slavery," &c. After which, these forty-one resume the address, and repeat the relation, and say that they also prefer humanity to oppression, truth to falsehood, freedom to slavery; and, together with possessing property in the West India colonies, possess also the means of correctly ascertaining the actual state of the negro population; are ready to prove that the general condition of slaves has been grossly misrepresented; and assert, in the face of our country, that the speedy annihilation of slavery would be hurtful; deny what has been said of their unfitness to frame laws for the benefit of their bondmen; on the contrary, out of the various measures suggested by the British Parlia-

ment for ameliorating the condition of slaves, the far greater proportion of them are under force, enacted by the colonial legislature. And, after this, these forty-one say,—that they have desired, and still desire,—and would most actively promote, any investigation, on oath, which Parliament should be pleased to institute, for the purpose of ascertaining what is the real condition of the slave population—what laws have been passed for their benefit—what progress they have made, and are now making, towards civilization—and what further well-digested measures are best calculated to prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects; at the earliest period compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.—With the names of the forty-one,—p. 1.

Now here, by the forty-one, is a professed alliance and allegiance to his Majesty and to his Government—a professed desire for the welfare of their slaves—a denial of unfitness and unwillingness to frame laws for their good—a readiness for oath in the investigation of their condition—and yet an acknowledgment that hitherto they had not been civilized, nor participated in civil rights and privileges with other classes of his Majesty's subjects. But, since this was known to colonists, why did they not bring slaves into a state of civilization, and to a participation with other classes of his Majesty's subjects, at a more early period than this? since the condition of slaves required this, and since colonists had the opportunity for this, as well as the means of information of its need. Measures suggested by the British Government for the amelioration of the condition of slaves implied the British Government's view of the need of this suggestion, and the variety of suggestion implied the extent of need of their suggestions; and if the condition required these suggestions, this surely proved the unfitness, or else the unwillingness, of colonists to frame laws. And the not enacting the whole of these suggestions showed the disloyalty of colonists to Government—only adopting

what they thought meet; and all showed their unfitness and unwillingness to frame laws for their bondmen; and this unfitness, in a great measure, to arise from unwillingness. And when colonists say that they prefer humanity to oppression, truth to falsehood, and freedom to slavery,—their preferring humanity and freedom must be for themselves, and not for the slaves; else how would the condition of slaves have been so long allowed by the colonists to be ill? and how would they have seen, with regret and astonishment, an address by the London Anti-Slavery Society in behalf of slaves? and how would colonists have remonstrated against proper necessary means in behalf of slaves, detaining them in this acknowledged ill condition, and daily adding to their number? All showed that, though the representation given by the London Anti-Slavery Society of the condition of slaves and the need and practicability of abolition, was reckoned by the colonists to be injurious, yet it was true and necessary; and that colonists have been more anxious to deny than to keep free from just blame. The doing of which shows, that the consideration of colonists' private property has had greater weight with them, than the consideration of the personal interest and the well-being of the slaves. While this publication, by the forty-one, not being the whole of their Statute Books, but only extracts—moreover, being also to deceive the nation—these extracts are so detached, elliptical, inconclusive, and some of them incoherent, to give the most favourable aspect, that, though in practice these colonists have preferred falsehood to truth, yet their design in this publication leads us to believe that they have not practised falsehood, in giving a worse account of slaves' condition than is really the case. And if these enactments, published by the forty-one, be new and improved, surely the old had been very bad; and this they were, and this the present are, and in some of them there is no newness nor improvement.

Since this is the publicly-professed allowance of the state of things by permission, what must it actually be? for what signify pretences? for colonists will alter, evade, and do as they please. All which, together

with this publication, bearing the forty-one colonists' names, undeniably proved, in the face of our country, that these colonists prefer falsehood to truth, and hereby show their unfitness to give oath; and all shows the truth of the charge brought against them, and the urgent need of the interference of the British Parliament, and of the petitions and the address of the London Anti-Slavery Society for this end, being carried into effect.

By the way, I may here quote from a pamphlet of the late Professor Bruce of Whitburn, originally written by that body to which he did then belong: "That such a horrid traffic as the slave trade should ever have been known—especially that it should have been carried on in such a systematic manner, and to such an enormous extent, and so resolutely persisted in, with all its atrocious circumstances, as it has been in Britain, to the destruction of so many thousands yearly, and the misery of so large a portion of the human race—must bring a heavy guilt and leave an indelible stain upon any Christian land. That, after the public attention was awakened to demand a legislative consideration and abolition of it, after so many petitions and forcible arguments produced in the cause of humanity and justice, against which not a shadow of argument could be offered, but what arises from corrupt interest, and inveterate evil habits, and such as might be employed to excuse any villany, and vindicate any lucrative robbery or murder—it should have been suffered so long to linger, or rather, in fact, to have gone on with accelerated violence, under a kind of sanction from the British Government; and that, of late, when the limited time approached for a total abolition, in performance of a kind of engagement to the anxious public, that engagement should appear to be eluded, the wishes and hopes of the better part of the nation disappointed; and the loudest cry of justice, humanity, and religion set at naught, is a pitch," &c. &c. It is from the slave trade being allowed, yea, established by law, and carried on in an allowed systematic public manner, that men have been so audacious in its defence; and had Burk and Hare's trade been in the smallest

degree authoritatively countenanced by law, they would have been equally bold and impudent, and it would also have had advocates. The worst of causes will find advocates.

These slight hints are far from affording a complete view of the evils connected with slavery, respecting the enslaving and the enslaved, and their condition; being unlawfully obtained, and unlawfully used, without proper remuneration for labour, so much so as to be faint and unable—liable to abuse by coercion, and almost without the benefit of law, human or divine, so as to be of benefit in their behalf, either for protection or for redress, sold and bought like cattle, separating the mother and her children, whereby, in the colonies as well as in bringing from Africa, the very tenderest ties of nature are torn asunder; kept in a state of prostitution through the almost entire want of marriage, and of its bonds being preserved inviolate, and being the very universal and very common custom of masters and mistresses hiring out females for prostitutes, by means of which heart-cutting debauchery offspring is greatly obstructed, almost without the enjoyment of the means of salvation of the well-grounded heart-cheering hope which it inspires; directing to look for rest at last in blessedness complete. Yea, the seventh day being no rest to them in their bodies, but a busy market day, and subjected not properly to justly-deserved punishment, but to different kinds of cruel wanton, and brutal usage in all the variety of ways that arbitrary despotic hardened tyranny can devise; the which, were it not for its prevention, is not to be named, which the poor slaves are neither able to elude nor yet to endure; sometimes ending in their death, and sometimes, when unable to labour, left to shift for themselves, or hanged like a dog, *Evidence*, p. 75; by all of which means poor slaves' lives are rendered both bitter and short, occasioning such a supply from Africa, estimated to be annually two hundred thousand to the West Indies; whereby in a variety of ways creatures are captured, and, through violence, are carried away from friends and from native lands, subjected to suffocation on the passage to the West Indies, where they are brought to share in this cruel debauched condition; and all these

creatures of the same original in their frame, having the same feeling as the present, and souls to be saved or lost as well as we, and yet thus deprived of the means of salvation; which condition is very pitiable indeed, and has a heart-piercing cry for the abolition of a system by which such abuse is produced, and with which such evils are connected, which in their nature, cause, and effect, are contrary to the nature, the law, and the glory of God, and must be to the hurt of all concerned, even of those by whom these evils are occasioned, by the injury done to others and the violence and injury thereby done to themselves, which would all be prevented by the rectifying of these in the abolition of slavery—in the enlargement of the church to the glory of God—and thus the proposed abolition has as one of its ends the same as the Bible Society, and is what the Bible in whole requires, for the remedying the evils belonging to the system of slavery; which, though its parts are many, yet in its kinds may be classed in three:—1st, The temporal cruelty in bringing from Africa, on the passage, and in the colonies. 2d, The debauchery with reference to the seventh command. 3d, The destitution of the divinely-appointed means for recovery to the glorifying and to the enjoying of God; and this of the abolition is an object which has a call on all, in every condition, to contribute their aid according to their respective opportunities; and is an object worthy of every man in whatsoever station; and has had a very universally-increased concurrence of late, by persons individually and jointly, by speeches and by petitions, that have been like unto a river rapidly swelling in its course by the accession of numerous tributary streams. And herein the finger of God may be seen in the means portending to the end; and to this end the very institutes lately published by the colonists, and writings by their advocates, do contribute, though indirectly, and not according to the colonists' design.

What came to my hand on the side of those who advocate the continuance of slavery, was some years ago, and is written in the form of two letters, by one who designates himself *Mercator*; besides since, the pretended declaration by the forty-one, and some occa-

sional hints, chiefly by Mr. M'Queen; and my ensuing publication is in direct reply to these two letters, which, though written upon the eve of the prohibition of the importation of slaves, twenty-five years ago, yet summarily contain all the arguments that, for the support of slavery, ever have been adduced. Which reply leads to show the indefensibleness of modern slavery, and the invalidity of the pretended claim of the West India colonists to slaves; which claim, in the predecessors of these colonists, originated in injustice and fraud, and has been continued by fraud, and disobedience to British authority and law. And the reply leads also to trace the different ways in which bond-servants under the ancient economy were obtainable, according to divine institution, and the usage they received; and herein to treat very minutely on all the ordinances and privileges the church then enjoyed, and of the Divine care that bond-servants should participate therein. Which shows that, from what was appointed by God, either as to the manner of obtaining bond-servants, or as to the usage they should receive, no warrant for modern slavery can be drawn. Yea, the word of God classes men-stealers with sinners the most atrocious and vile, and the which to prevent justly annexes the penalty of death; by which the present slavery, in its very existence, is disallowed. Which all show the colonists' claim on slaves to be illegal, invalid, and destitute of any real claim, not only from the British power, but also from the word of God. All which leads to view the need, and to show the practicability and manner of abolition.

In my Reply, I shall answer the first of these Letters in portions, to the beginning of each of which I shall prefix M. for *Mercator*; and when I do not take a whole section, I shall introduce what follows with —, to signify that it belonged to the former part of the section; and the last of these Letters I shall answer in whole. To the beginning of my Reply I shall prefix *Ans.*; and in the course I shall notice what has lately occurred, chiefly by Mr. M'Queen, which has come to my hand since my Reply to Mercator was complete.



while I was endeavouring to obtain as true and well authenticated account of what I have here given of the way in which slaves are obtained in Africa, their usage on their passage to the West Indies, and their condition there, as I could; which has been the cause of the delay of the publication of what I had in reply to the Letters.

## LETTERS, &c.

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*M. Page 3.*

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### ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

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SIR,

IT is understood, that, on opening of Parliament, a Bill is to be brought in, under the auspices of his Majesty's Ministers, for the immediate and total abolition of the slave trade.

*Ans.*—Either this Bill has not been brought in, or else it has not been carried into execution, for the slave trade is not yet abolished.

*M. p. 3.*—I am not about to discuss the expediency of this measure on hackneyed grounds. To vindicate the slave trade is not a duty incumbent on the West India planter or merchant, but on the British Legislature, in whom it originated; by whom it was sanctioned and encouraged, and who even imposed on the court of Spain the famous Assiento contract, the object of which was, to secure to this country the exclusive supply of all the Spanish colonies with negroes.

*Ans.*—Many a contract is wrong in itself, and in its object and design; and whatever name is given, does not alter the nature of the object, nor make that which is wrong to be right; yet false names are often used to

misrepresent; but still every thing should have its proper name, and infamous is the name that belongs to a contract that has such an object in end and design: and to vindicate what is wrong is not the duty of any man; and to assert what is not true, surely is not duty either; and the using of falsehood for the defence of a cause is often for want of truth, and thereby nearly allied to doing it upon hackneyed grounds. The origin of slavery in the British colonies was in the reign of Elizabeth, by the traders bringing captured blacks from Africa to the British colonies, and saying, that these blacks came on board to these colonies of their own consent, and that it was necessary to have them as a property, in order to subdue them to Christianity for their own good; and thus, Government being deceived, gave the colonists a claim to these blacks by charters; and herein, no doubt, through the falsehood and fraud of colonists, a sanction from British power was obtained, upon account of which, together with whatever after encouragement it gave this trade, the British power is under obligation not to vindicate the trade, because that would be to add sin to crime, but to abolish it—which would have been the duty of the British power, though its sanction or encouragement had never been given; and, besides, it being the duty of the British legislature, it was also the duty of West India planters and merchants, and these last, to have been first in the abolition.—To this T. Clarkson says, pp. 10, 11. “With respect to original grants or permissions of Governments, the case is very clear. History informs us, that neither the African slave trade, nor the West Indian slavery, would have been allowed, had it not been for the misrepresentations and falsehoods of those who were first concerned in them. The Governments of those times were made to believe, first, that poor Africans embarked voluntarily on board the ships which took them from their native land; and, secondly, that they were conveyed to these colonies principally for their own benefit, or out of Christian feeling for them, that they might afterwards be converted to Christianity. Take, as an instance of the first assertion, the way in which Queen Elizabeth was deceived, in whose

reign the execrable slave trade began in England. This great princess seems, on the very commencement of the trade, to have questioned its lawfulness. She seems to have entertained a religious scruple concerning it, and to have revolted at the very thoughts of it. She seems to have been aware of the evils to which its continuance might lead, or that, if it were sanctioned, the most unjustifiable means might be made use of to procure the persons of the natives of Africa. And, in what light she would have viewed any acts of this kind, had they taken place to her knowledge, we may conjecture from this fact—that when Captain (afterwards Sir John) Hawkins returned from his first voyage to Africa and Hispaniola, whither he had carried slaves, she sent for him, and, as we learn from Hill's Naval History, expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off without their free consent—declaring that it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers. Captain Hawkins promised to comply with the injunctions of Elizabeth in this respect. But he did not keep his word; for, when he went to Africa again, he seized many of the inhabitants, and carried them off as slaves. “Here, (says Hill) began the horrid practice of forcing the Africans into slavery—an injustice and barbarity which, so sure as there is vengeance in heaven for the worst of crimes, will sometime be the destruction of all who encourage it.” Take, as an instance of the second, what Labat, a Roman missionary, records in his account of the Isles of America. He says, that Louis XIII. was very uneasy when he was about to issue the edict by which all Africans brought into his colonies were to be made slaves, and that this uneasiness continued until he was assured, that the introduction of them in this capacity into his foreign dominions was the readiest way of converting them to the principles of the Christian religion. It was with the understanding, then, that the Africans left their own country voluntarily, and that they were to enjoy the blessings of Christianity, that the first transportations were allowed, and that the first English grants and acts of Parliament; and the first foreign edicts, sanctioned them. We

have, therefore, the fact well authenticated, as it relates to original Government grants and permissions, that the title of the owners of many of the Creole slaves in our colonies had its origin in fraud and falsehood."

*M. p. 4.*—The West India planters and merchants have only been the humble instruments of accomplishing the declared purpose of the British Parliament; and, encouraged by the high sanction of the legislature, which in every country impresses its principles on the minds of the people, they cannot be blamed for having participated in the execution of this once-favoured project for extending the commerce, and thereby adding to the wealth and strength of the British empire.

*Ans.*—I do not know wherein the West India planters and merchants have been humble, though they had good reason to be so, for their not plainly declaring their own purpose to the British Parliament, but using falsehood and fraud to obtain its sanction for accomplishing their own purpose, and for disseminating wrong views wherein Mercator participates, to obtain favour in the minds of people in the prosecution of this trade, which has thereby, through misrepresentation, been too much favoured. Indeed, therefore, the planters and merchants surely are to be blamed, and that doubly, for using wrong means for an evil end.—through which, whatever wealth has been added to the British empire, no strength has been thereby added; and whatever ill-gotten gain is obtained, is not to be estimated real wealth, especially when it is gotten at such expense. It is righteousness that exalteth a nation; but sin, however much desired, indulged, and palliated, has ever been, and ever will be, the reproach of any people.

*M. p. 4.*—If the principles of Parliament are now so much more pure, that the proscription of this traffic is necessary, as a sacrifice at the altar of humanity, let them not heap obloquy on the West India planters, but fix the odium where it is justly due, and acknowledge, while they expiate, the crimes of their predecessors.

*Ans.*—Though Parliament was blameable at first for acting improperly, through misinformation, and thereby giving charters, and for afterwards continuing the system, after it was seen that falsehood had been used to obtain a claim on slaves, and that planters did not act according to these charters, which bound to conform to British law; and while the odium ought to be fixed where it is due, and a part belongs to Parliament, especially for continuing the system after it was discovered; yet a part—the first and chief part—of odium ought to be fixed on planters and merchants, for first using falsehood and fraud to obtain a claim by charters. And though it was the duty, and would have been the honour, of the British Parliament, that its principles had always been so pure as not to have given a sanction,—yet, upon conviction, has need, at the bar of justice, in the exercise of executive power, to retract the claim, and abolish the system and traffic which was at first begun, and has been continued, at the expense of sacrificing truth, justice, and humanity. And though the sin that is always against God, in the crimes against men, cannot by Parliament be expiated, yet a confession of, and a turning from, the sins of predecessors, is by God required, Levit. xxvi. 40, 41. and recommended by practice, Psalm cvi. 6.

*M. p. 4.*—Let them also remember, that one moral virtue is not to be trampled upon, that another may be exalted; and that those who pretend to be the votaries of humanity must not be the violators of justice.

*Ans.*—Let planters and merchants remember, that the commencement and the continuance of the trade was at the expense of trampling upon every moral virtue of justice and truth, as well as of humanity, in the trampling upon poor slaves, and all trampling upon conscience; and the abolition is not in pretence, but in reality, the exalting of justice, as well as of humanity, in the exalting of slaves; and for Parliament to do otherwise than what I have said, would be to violate justice, humanity, and the command of Him under

whom all do reign, and to whom they will be found to be amenable at last.

*M. p. 5.*—The West India planters, while they call upon Parliament to indemnify them against the pecuniary consequences of the abolition, warn them of other consequences against which no idemnity can be given, and strongly protest against this violent innovation, by which their property, depending on a trade established, and hitherto protected, by the laws of their country, is now to be sacrificed.

*Ans.*—To indemnification from the consequences of the abolition, the West India planters from Parliament have no legal claim; 1st, Because their claims by charters they obtained by falsehood and fraud. 2dly, For not acting according to these charters, that expressly require the whole of their administration to be conformable to English law. Thomas Clarkson, pp. 11, 12, and in p. 13, says, a proprietor informs of what passed at a meeting among themselves, August, 1785, when the following question was in the order of the day:—"Is there any law, written or printed, by which a proprietor can prove his title to his slaves, under or conformable to the laws of England?" And, "Why (immediately said one of the members) conformable to the laws of England? Will not the courts in England admit such proof as is authorised by our slave laws?" "I apprehend not, (answered a second), unless we can show that our slave laws (according to the limitations of the charter) are not repugnant to the laws of England." The same gentleman resumed:—"Does the original purchaser of an African slave in the island obtain any legal title from the merchant or importer of slaves, and of what nature? Does it set forth any title of propriety, agreeable to the laws of England, (or even to the laws of nations) to be in the importer, more than what depends upon his simple averment? and, have not free negroes been at sundry times trepanned by such dealers, and been brought contrary to the laws of nations, and sold here as slaves?" "There is no doubt, (observed a third) but such villanous actions

have been done by worthless people. However, an honest and unsuspicious man may be deceived in buying a stolen horse; yet, it does not follow, that he may have a fair and just title to a horse, or any thing else, bought in an open and legal market; but, according to the obligation of being not repugnant to the laws of England, I do not see how we can have any title to our slaves likely to be supported by charters."—3dly, Because colonists have continued the importation of slaves, contrary to that authority from whom colonists originally derived their claim; and herein, while from Britain planters receive, to support their trade, the commands of Britain, disallowing the commissioning of slaves, colonists have for twenty-five years disobeyed. If it be said that colonists paid a price for slaves, yet it was not to the slaves, who through stealth and violence were forced away, and received nothing; therefore from them it cannot be expected, nor restitution demanded. If any restitution is to be made, it is to those slaves yet in possession, while many thousands once injured are now in the other world, whose condition does not admit of restitution.

*M. p. 5.*—They ask, too, whether it is consistent with that purity of principle by which the abolitionists profess to be actuated, to retain the profits of this execrable traffic, whose continuance they are about to abolish? While they reprobate the crime, will they pocket the fruits of it? If so, the point to which their morality extends can be precisely ascertained—that it goes on so far as it affects only the interests of others, but stops short the moment that it touches their own.

*Ans.*—An execrable traffic it may very properly be called, and a very great pity it is that it ever existed; for, whatever Mercator calls profit, the traffic has had it—has had fruits of sin and of suffering, which, by Mercator, are wholly overlooked; and the fruit of it in money must consequently be of the same nature as what Judas received for Christ, which was the price of blood—which price the high priest refused to retain;



and those who of this traffic have most money have the most loss; and whatever have been the incomes of planters, of these incomes abolitionists seek none, and their morality extends to the abolishing the accursed traffic, without pocketing any of the fruits of it in time past or yet to come; and this is consistent with purity as well as with morality; and in both these, abolitionists are precisely alike; and the fruit of the traffic will appear in another day, when it will be reprobated as a crime, and punished as a sin. By abolitionists, Mercator here apparently means those in Parliament who were engaged in favour of the slaves; yet, to these in Parliament the profit was not sought, nor upon them was it bestowed; and that ever the nation had any share in the fruits is a great pity indeed; but to return the profits of this traffic to planters, is what justice does not require, and what the condition of things in the nation does not admit.

**M. p. 5.**—For near a century and a half the British nation has reaped fruits almost incalculable from this very slave trade. It produces annually near three millions to the revenue, in the duties paid on West India produce, and takes off almost double that amount in British manufactures. As the source of the West India trade, it furnishes employment for two hundred thousand tons of British shipping, and sixteen thousand British seamen; and thus, is one of the great supports of that naval power to which she owes her independence, and even existence as a nation. If Parliament choose to abolish this trade, to be consistent, they must in future renounce these ill-gotten gains derived from so impure a source; and, to be just, they must refund so much of those which they have already received, as will indemnify the planters and merchants, who, on the faith of Parliamentary sanction, have invested their property in the British colonies.

**Ans.**—Whatever gains have been gotten by this trade, may well be called ill-gotten gains; though the trade furnishes employment for much shipping, and for many seamen, in a trade that carries away two hundred

thousand poor captured blacks from Africa every year; which trade also furnishes constant employment to ships and seamen for its protection, besides an army to suppress and keep in awe the injured slaves, all at the expense of Britain, which also pays to support the sugar trade to planters at the expense of blood, from the same original source and of equal value with their own. If West Indian colonies be so excellent for the wealth of Britain, let them be improved by freemen, who will do far more work than slaves; but, if the sugar trade cannot be profitable for wealth, but by injustice and inhumanity, and at the expense of the welfare of men, then it ought not to exist. The state of things in these colonies being contrary to nature, justice, and the institution of God, is thereby even to the temporal loss of possessors, as well as contrary to their duty and real interest, and to the welfare of slaves. Through the want of wages, slaves have no encouragement to work; from a view of personal interest, and through the consequent barbarous usage, especially in the want of meat, they are not so able, and thereby less work is performed. T. Clarkson, pp. 48, 49.—By concurrent testimony, it is acknowledged, that one free man will for wages work as much as three slaves ill-used, whose bodies are bruised and mangled, and their spirits broken and languid, having no hope of deliverance from interminable bondage. Therefore, Parliament ought undoubtedly to abolish this trade, in doing which, it will in future be renouncing the ill-gotten gains, and only acting consistently with the obligation that lies upon it, arising from its establishing, protecting, and supporting this trade. Although planters and merchants invested their property in these colonies on the faith of Parliamentary sanction, yet this sanction was given upon the faith of the declaration of planters and merchants, which declaration was in falsehood and deceit; therefore, there is not truth on the part of the planters and merchants to demand that they should be refunded or indemnified, and since the trade is in injustice to the slaves, justice does not demand more than truth; but justice and mercy on the part of slaves, demand abolition, and truth does not in

the least forbid. Contracts and promises are binding to what is right, though the thing be in itself indifferent, and otherwise not binding, if the thing be not sinful; but if to a thing sinful, as to commit murder, as the Jews agreed respecting Paul, or to commit adultery or whoredom, or any thing contrary to the unalterable holy law of Jehovah—in these cases, a contract or promise can never be binding, nor lawful to be performed. It is a sin to promise to do such, and to perform would not take away the sin arising from promising, but would add another to it. What is wrong in its nature can never be altered by the promise of man; and the law of Jehovah, which forbids sin, remains the same. The prodigal son considered not only that he had been ensnared, but that his service to the citizen was at the breach of the obligation that lay on him to obedience; therefore, without saying what way he would get free of his engagement to the citizen, he just says, "I will arise, and go to my father;" who, upon his return, welcomed him with honour and joy.—Luke xv. 15—24. Therefore, from the faith of Parliamentary sanction, there is no obligation to continue the accursed slave trade.

M. pp. 6, 7.—Some advocates for the abolition have asserted, that this measure will not be injurious to the planters; for that, by proper care and humanity in the treatment of the slaves, their numbers may be kept up, and even increased without importation from Africa. In arguing with men on subjects of which they have no local knowledge (and I cannot think those persons are conversant with the West Indies who have hazarded this assertion), the best mode of reasoning is by analogy. It is admitted, that in the manufacturing towns of England the population decreases. Every estate in the West Indies is a manufactory; the process of boiling sugar and distilling rum, is unfavourable to health, and necessarily carried on by night as well as by day, without intermission, during the whole of the crop season. If the population decreases in the manufacturing towns of England, where a temperate climate unites with the laws of the land in promoting general regula-

rity of conduct and domestic attachments; how much more must it decrease in the West Indies, where the negroes yield to the ardent and uncontrolled influence of the passions; where a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes takes place; where, consequently, the fewer children are born; and where the climate is unpropitious both to health and longevity? These considerations will probably establish in unprejudiced minds here, what experience has long ago established in the West Indies, that a constant supply of negroes from Africa is requisite to continue the cultivation of the islands, and, as a necessary consequence, the just claim of the planters to an indemnification if that supply be prohibited. To refuse it, would be to contaminate a measure founded on the pretence of humanity, by a manifest act of injustice.

*Ans.*—Abolition is absolutely necessary, be the consequence to planters what it will. Though the work and climate are unfavourable to health, and a supply necessary, yet upon what account is Africa bound to afford this supply, or the planters entitled to indemnification? Besides what arises from the work that is injurious to health and longevity, much inhuman severity and abuse unite, so that all conspire to make the lives of poor slaves both bitter and short. In the continuance of a system whereby is occasioned a promiscuous intercourse of both sexes, which is the direct violation of the express precept of Jehovah's law, which conduct is sin, and not only practised among the poor blacks, but encouraged by the whites, who unite to debauch the female slaves, who are given by their masters to those who shamelessly require them, for hire; and thus the whole uniting to produce sin here, which will produce suffering hereafter. To continue this slave trade founded on injustice and fraud, whatever was the pretence, would, in reality, be doing it at the expense of justice, humanity, chastity, and every obligation. The planters have no legal claim to slaves, and since the trade began by traders in their predecessors, and by themselves has been continued, whatever would be their loss by abolition, in the eye of law or of reason traders have no legal

claim to indemnification. Let slavery be abolished, and good usage given; Christian privileges afforded, and marriage established; and if, after all, a supply be necessary, let people come of choice from Africa, or any where else, to the West Indies, and then there is no matter how many come. But to uphold a trade at the expense of men by violence forced away and cruelly used, and led into sin, ought never to be named; and, by Mercator's account, by a promiscuous intercourse of both sexes, we may see what a grievous baseness is occasioned, and what sort of men would plead for the continuance of the system? By colonists' having servants without a price at first, they would be more able to pay wages; and labourers having good usage, would be more fit, and, from a view of reward, would be stimulated to labour far more than in a state of slavery; and, if the trade is not able to pay wages, it is not worth the having, and ought not to exist.

*M. p. 8.*—Considering the slave trade as an abstract question, it must be admitted, that it is irreconcilable to the principles of humanity and natural justice, against which considerations of interest or policy ought not to be set in competition. Did not this trade actually exist, I am persuaded that not a man in the kingdom would argue in favour of its being established; but having been so long established and acted upon, we are not now to consider the abolition of it abstractedly, but relatively in all its bearings and consequences, or, in the excess of a blind though laudable zeal, we may occasion more mischief than we remedy, and injure the cause we mean to promote. To those who contend that, disregarding all possible consequences, we ought, in the first instance, to set right what we feel to be wrong, I answer, that I know of no obligation which compels us to act upon such a principle.

*Ans.*—Here, I need say nothing against the slave trade itself, because Mercator acknowledges it to be irreconcilable to the principles of humanity and natural justice, and says, that considerations of inter-

est or policy ought not to be set in competition with these principles; and that the slave trade is so bad, that he is persuaded that not a man in the kingdom would argue in favour of its being established; and he says it must be admitted, and he thereby admits it himself. Since it is so bad, how blameable are they who established it, and how much need has it to be abolished?—which is not less necessary that it has been long continued, and it, in its bearings and consequences in abolition, is not to be considered as they respect colonists, not only because they obtained their claim by injustice and fraud—but, because Mercator, by his own words, says, that the trade is against the principles of humanity and natural justice, and that interest or policy ought not to be set in competition with these interests; according to which, then, the considerations of interest or policy ought not to hinder its abolition. Bad as the trade is, there are means whereby it may be abolished, and, without the occasion of any mischief, we may remedy the cause we mean to promote. To set right what is wrong, is the indispensable duty of every man as far as possible in use of proper means, in which there is no reason to fear evil consequence; and it is the duty of planters and merchants, above all others, to set right the state of slaves, by abolishing slavery—because, in planters and merchants it had its origin, and both the condition of slaves and the will of Him whose authority can be questioned by none, require this, and policy clearly points out the way, and secures from the fear of any danger at all.

M. p. 9.—‘That the slave trade is sanctioned by the laws of the land has already been shown. That it is forbidden by any religious precept, either under the old or new dispensation, I have not been able to discover. For reasons inscrutable to our finite understandings, the carrying away the women and children of the conquered countries into captivity, after putting the males to the sword, and destroying their cities by fire, was the Divine command, given through the Jewish legislator Deut. chap. xx. ver. 13 to 15. Num. chap. xxxi. Slavery, therefore, was expressly ordained by the law of

Moses. None of the inspired prophets lifted up their voices against it. The abolition of it formed no part of the Divine mission either of our Saviour or his apostles.

*Ans.*—That this sanction has been obtained through fraud has also been shown. To know what is not revealed we are not required, and for ignorance thereof we are not chargeable with blame; but much of our ignorance arises not so much from things not being revealed, nor even from the limitedness of our understandings, as from the depravity of our understanding by sin, and from the want of investigation, through neglecting divinely-appointed means of information, and even by willingly shutting our eyes against the light of what is revealed, which is an aggravation, and adds to our sin. We do not wish to come to the light, lest our deeds should thereby be reprov'd. What was the thing to which the Divine command was given through the Jewish legislator for which the reasons were inscrutable? Was it the severity and judgment in putting all the males to the sword, and destroying the cities by fire, or was it the carrying away the women and children into captivity?

In Num. xxxi. 1—4, there was a command to slay; yet the carrying away captive the women and children was not commanded nor allowed, v. 14, 15. Moses was wroth for saving the women alive, and commanded to kill every male among the little ones, and every woman that had been guilty with man, v. 17.; and to save the females who were free, who seem to have been such as were under age, described by the name of women children, v. 18.; the number of whom was thirty-two thousand, v. 35.; and the command, v. 2. was the renewal of the command, ch. xxv. 17.

In Deut. xx. 11. upon voluntary submission, in compliance with the divinely-prescribed terms in the offer of peace, all were to be spared; and, in case of refusal, v. 12. all the males were to be destroyed, v. 13. and the women, and little ones, and spoil, preserved, v. 14. In v. 16, 17. all were to be destroyed; according to ch. vii. 1, 2. ch. xx. 16, 17. the offer of peace was not to be made.

In Num. xxxi. 7, 8, favour is implied in giving victory; also in giving the spoil, v. 11; and the term *men* there, signifies mankind, and included only women and male children; for the advanced males were formerly killed in war, v. 7, 8, as well as were the young afterwards, who were not allowed to be kept, v. 17; and the term *men*, v. 11, is in opposition, and in distinction from the beasts, which by the command of the Lord, v. 26, 27, &c. were appointed to be kept, with other things, for their appropriate purpose.

In Deut. xx. 11, favour is implied in giving a grant of the people of the city to become tributary, and also in victory, v. 12, 13, as v. 1—4; also in the spared residue and spoil, v. 14, and victory, v. 16, as was afterwards realized in giving the promised land, under the conduct of Joshua, as recorded in the sacred book of divine inspiration that bears his venerable name.

In Num. chap. xxxi. there was severity commanded, v. 1—4, and executed v. 7, 8, on the advanced males, and, v. 17, on the male children.

In Deut. ch. xx. 10, 11, there was something of judgment, in a lesser degree of severity; in v. 12, 13, partial severity, mixed with mercy; in v. 17, severity is destruction complete.

In all these instances of diversified administration, the favour and the severity, in their varied kinds and degrees, are not only expressly specified, but also the respective subjects of each.

The subjects of the favour are called, Num. xxxi. 2, the children of Israel, and are the same to whom he owns himself standing in a special relation, in Deut. chap. xx. 14, 17, the Lord your God.

The subjects of the severity are, in Num. chap. xxxi. 2, the Midianites, and are the same who were formerly mentioned, ch. xxv. 17. In Deut. xx. 14, they are among the general class called enemies; v. 1—4, and v. 12, are the same; and v. 15, afar off, and not of the cities of these nations referred to, v. 16, and expressly mentioned, v. 17, the Hittite, Amorite, Canaanite, Perizzite, Hivite, Jebusite, and were formerly mentioned, ch. vii. 1, with the addition of the Gergashite.

The subjects of the favour were the members of his



church, and her cause was the cause of holiness; and the subjects of the severity were enemies to the Lord and to his church, and to her cause; and the cause of these enemies was the cause of sin; and according to the relation of these subjects are they, with their respective causes, reckoned by him, Num. xxxi. 2. Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites, v. 2. avenge the Lord of Midian, v. 4.

The reason of the command to destroy the Midianites, Num. ch. xxxi. 1, 2, is implied in the very word "avenge," which the Lord never will do except for sin; and it is expressed, v. 16, which has a reference to ch. xxv. where the same command was formerly given, v. 17, with the two-fold reason, v. 18, in the matter of Peor and of Cozbi, and for the complicated sin of whoredom and idolatry into which Israel by Moab was led, v. 1, 2, together with that of Baal-peor, the filthy idol of lewdness, v. 3,—which is wholly ascribed to the Midianites, v. 18. The Divine displeasure began to be exercised against Israel, v. 3; for the staying of which, in its cause and effect, Divine order was given to Moses, v. 4, for the execution of judgment, in a way expressive of public acknowledgment of, and indignation against sin, in the manner of its punishment on all the guilty, v. 4; during which time and process of command given, to be executed by man, and judgment executed by God in the plague, v. 3—8; while Israel were weeping, the daring act by the Israelitish man and Midianitish woman was committing, v. 6—8, which was resented by the personal exercise of magistratical authority in Phinehas, according to v. 4, 5,—to whose conduct therein the Lord gave his approbation, by turning away the exercise of Divine anger from Israel, and by confirming the sacred office of priesthood to the posterity of Phinehas, during that dispensation, v. 8—13; Joshua xxii. 17; Psalm cvi. 28, where that sin is lamentably acknowledged incurring the Divine displeasure, v. 29, and Phinehas's conduct recorded to perpetuity with honour, v. 30, 31. And in the visitation of the Midianites for the seduction of Israel into those two matters, five of the Midianitish kings, expressed by name, were slain, Num. xxxi. 8,

among whom was Zur, the father of the fore-mentioned audacious women, ch. xxv. 15; besides Balaam, the reason of whose being slain was, that he was the cause of the former sin and suffering of Israel, Num. xxv. and of the former sin of Midian, then seducing, which was the cause of the present suffering of Midian, ch. xxxi. 7, 8,—for which it was just, and more than an hundred times just, that Balaam should suffer, whether he had exposed himself by joining Midian in the present war, ch. xxxi. 8, against Israel or not; and to the diabolical counsel of Balaam, the fore-mentioned sin, ch. xxv. is ascribed, ch. xxxi. 16; Rev. ii. 14, <sup>and</sup> where he, in the pernicious effect of his doctrine, is to perpetuity stigmatized with disgrace, after he had led many into vileness and ruined them; and was himself, in Divine anger, hurried away to the pit, to have his portion with the vilest of the vile.

The reason of subjecting them, Deut. xx. 12, was because they had utterly disavowed allegiance to God in his new-covenant character, for which he subjected them to become tributary to them of the church who still owned him; and it was only in compliance with the prescribed plan in the Divine government, proposed unto these heathens, by their becoming submissive, that they were all to be spared. Yea, because, in process of time, they became so formidably hostile, by joint concurrence to his new-covenant reign, Psalm lxxxiii. 1—8, the church prayed that he would interpose to inflict judgment, in order to show his supreme universal monarchy and rule.

The reason of the command for complete destruction, Deut. xx. 16, 17, was to keep them of the church from being ensnared into sin, v. 18. Exod. xxxiv. 12, by the native inhabitants of these nations of Canaan which were to be possessed by them of the church, in the accomplishment of the promise to Abraham, Gen. xii. 7. ch. xiii. 17. ch. xv. 7, 18—21; and showed this care to prevent sin to proceed from him who is holy; and who is a jealous God, Exod. xxxiv. 14, and the same command was formerly given, Deut. vii. 1, 6, 7, 8.

The reason for sparing the fruit trees, Deut. xx. 19;

20, was because they were meat, and for the support of man, said to be his life, v. 19

The reason for sparing some of the women, Num. xxxi. 17, was because they were free of that for which the rest suffered—whose sin the scripture, in modesty, calls “knowing man by lying with him,” v. 17.

The reason of there being a condition for sparing all, Deut. xx. 10, 11, and even women and children, v. 14, was because they of the church were not so liable to be led astray by these, which is implied in the description of their situation, “very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations” of Canaan; so that even here there are traits of the lenient character of God, showing that he afflicts not without a cause, and that judgment is his strange work.

Before drawing a conclusion on any subject, it is necessary to view it in whole; and, on this subject under present discussion, we have on record other instances of destruction besides those already considered, Num. xxv. ch. xxxi. Deut. xx.; in the two first of which places, judgment in destruction had been actually executed, and in the last, only in command and direction, modulated by Divine holiness, wisdom, faithfulness, and care, suited to the respective circumstances of enemies; the end of which being to keep the church from being corrupted by them; and, in connexion with the same object in view in the last, and for the same uniform end of them all, does all that remains to be surveyed belong, some of which were prior in order of time, and as recorded in the inspired page.

According to the Divine purpose, which was made known by Divine promise, Gen. xii. 7. c. . 17. ch. xv. 18—21, of giving the land of Canaan to the posterity of Abraham, and for the attainment of which Divine command was given, Exod. xxxiii. 1, with the promise, v. 2, and ch. xxxiv. 10, 11, of driving out the inhabitants; and to which land Israel was journeying, Num. x. 29; and for the accomplishment of which, order was given to search, Num. xiii. 1, 2, with which there was compliance, v. 3—25, with favourable account of the land itself, v. 26, 27; but, from the discouraging account, v. 28, 29, which brought evil on Israel, for

which those advanced in age were deprived altogether, and the accomplishment of the promise to be delayed towards the children, who found that it was, nevertheless, steady in his view, while the endeavouring the frustration thereof by the ten spies brought upon them death—while to the other two, with Moses and Aaron, concerned for the Divine glory in the accomplishment of the promise, peculiar favour was shown, v. 30—33. ch. xiv. 1—38. In v. 45, Israel was defeated; yet, ch. xx. 14—21, Moses sent to Edom, under the name of brother, for a passage through his country, but was denied by him, from whom Israel turned away, without engaging in war. In Num. xxi. 2, Israel requested Divine success against Arad, and obtained it, v. 3, and utterly destroyed the people and cities. In ch. xxi. 21, 22, Israel requested of Sihon a passage through his land, but was refused by him, v. 23, who was smitten by the sword, v. 24, and his land possessed, with the Amorites of Jazer expelled, and its villages taken. In v. 33, upon Israel's journey, Og, king of Bashan, and his people, went out to oppose and to destroy; v. 34, Divine order and direction given to smite, and encouragement in the promise of success—which order was obeyed, and which success was afforded in the slaying of Og, with his sons and his people, that none was left alive, v. 35.

Here is an object in design and pursuit, and that is the possessing the promised land of Canaan, to the obtaining of which there was command and direction to the use of means, in which there was success, except ch. xiv. 45, and in which there was a varied line of conduct—in Israel passing Edom, and slaying Arad, Sihon, and Og.

The reason of driving out to which there was promise given, Exod. xxxiii. 1, 2, and command, ch. xxxiv. 10, 11, was to keep Israel from being corrupted, for which warning is given, v. 12, 15, 16; and that Israel might be exclusively for him whose name is holy and a jealous God, as it well became him to be; and, to this end, command is given, v. 13, 14, 17. Num. xxxiii. 50—53, order was given to Moses, and through him to Israel, to drive out the inhabitants from Canaan, and

to destroy their pictures and molten images, and to level the high places, whereon these images stood, and to divide the land, v. 54; and the not driving out is threatened, v. 55, 56. Deut. vii. 1—5; and the reason of this arises from the relation, v. 6. and motives to comply with obedience, v. 7—26. ch. ix. 1, 2. Upon Israel going to possess, they were informed upon what account they were to obtain the land—that it was not for their own goodness in heart nor in conduct, but from a regard which the Lord had to his promise to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Deut. ix. 5. ch. iv. 37, 38; with an injunction most becoming, v. 39, 40. ch. xii. 29, 30.; and the wickedness of the natives of these nations, was given as the reason of their being cast out, Deut. ix. 4, 5. ch. xx. 16—18; and to this special relation, with corresponding duty, Israel are called, Deut. xxix. 13—29. Levit. xviii. 24—30. ch. xx. 22, 23. Deut. xiii. 6—18. ch. xii. 29—32.

The reason of the defeat of Israel at Hormah, Num. xiv. 45, was their murmuring and unbelief, v. 2—10, 43, to which is reference, Deut. i. 26—44.

The reason of not engaging Edom, Num. xx. 21, was not only because of the withdrawment of the Divine presence as to success, but because the Lord had given mount Seir to Edom, as related by Moses, Deut. ii. 1—6, Joshua xxiv. 4, and commanded Israel to buy of him bread and water; and Edom being Esau, Gen. xxv. 25, 30. ch. xxxvi. 8, who had been in the same womb with Jacob, whose name was changed into Israel, Gen. xxxii. 28, whose descendants the then present Israel were; upon this account did Moses send to the descendants of Esau in their present king—not only reminding of ancient brotherhood relation, but of the trouble of Israel, and the Divine interposition, in order to gain a passage, and for the denial is, Num. xxiv. 18; and, besides, Seir being given to Esau, the son of a good man, Isaac, and in respect to his prediction, under inspiration, Gen. xxvii. 39; to Moab, Deut. ii. 9, and to Ammon, v. 19, the posterity of Lot, possessions were also given—and to Israel not to distress, a charge was given by the Lord, who was therein obeyed, v. 37.

In the first instance of destruction, in Arad, Num.

xxi. 2, 3, there was complete destruction of people and cities.

In the second, in Sihon, v. 24, the people were smitten, and their lands possessed; also, v. 31, while Jaazer was taken, its inhabitants were driven out.

In the third, in Og, v. 35, while his land by Israel was possessed, none was left alive.

Those mentioned, v. 29, who went into captivity, were the sons and daughters of Moab, overcome by Sihon, who took his land, v. 26—30, and to this there was no Divine command, nor in it had Israel any part.

The reason of the destruction of Arad, Sihon, and Og, was because they stood in the way of the fulfilment of the promise of Israel possessing the land of Canaan, and to this there is reference, Num. xxi. 33. Deut. i. 4. ch. ii. 24, 37. ch. iii. 1—29. ch. xxxi. 4.—which things in the issue, became a subject of the song of the church, Psalm cv. 5, 8—11. Psalm cxxxv. 10—13. Psalm cxxxvi. 19—22. Joshua xxiv. 12. Psalm cv. 42—44, for an end worthy himself, v. 45, for which the church in succession should praise.

While the subjects of the favour and severity in these, were the same as before, and in the last instances the land possessed, yet spoil in any was not kept, nor people for bond-servants; and though to Esau, Ammon, and Moab, possessions of land were given, yet to the of their fellow-creatures a grant never was given.

In tracing the Divine record, we will find in the Divine administration, command from the same authority, for the execution of judgments of the kind, and for the same end, under the superintendence of him by whom the Jewish legislator was succeeded, Joshua vi. 2. A Divine command to destroy Jericho, with the encouraging promise of success to Joshua, and by him delivered to the priests, v. 6, and to the people, v. 7—16, with the sovereignly prescribed previous exercise; v. 17, an expression of the devotedness to destruction of Jericho, and all in it, except Rahab and her relations, with direction to corresponding exercise; v. 18, the preserving of spoil for themselves disallowed; v. 19, what was to be preserved for sacred service; v. 20, the former order obeyed, and the promise made good in success; v. 21,

the people and their flocks utterly destroyed by the sword; v. 24, the city set on fire, and all in it burned, except what was preserved for its divinely-appropriate purpose. Though, for retaining the forbidden accursed spoil of Jericho, Israel was defeated, and some killed by them of Ai, ch. vii. 3—6; yet, by the removal of that, which was the cause of the withdrawal of the Divine presence for success, v. 25, in ch. viii. 1, 2, are given a promise of success, along with a command by the Lord, to do to Ai as had been done to Jericho, in the complete destruction of the people of Ai; and orders to reserve the spoil and cattle for them of the church: v. 3, the command obeyed, in the attempt, with success, v. 19, 20; v. 21—29, the city set on fire, and all of it who went to the field of battle, and all who remained in the city, utterly destroyed by the sword, and its king hanged. In ch. x. 5, the five united kings, with their military hosts, who were Amorites, and commanded to be destroyed, Deut. vii. 2, are smitten by Israel, Joshua, x. 10, and killed by hailstones from heaven, v. 11. In which instance, in the destruction of the enemies of the church, in her behalf, and to the honour of Joshua, in the magnifying of him in his office, and hearing his request, the sun and the moon are made to concur, v. 12—14; the remaining of the enemies pursued, v. 19, 20, except some who took refuge in the fenced cities; after which, the five kings were hanged, v. 22, 26; Makkedah and its king, and inhabitants, destroyed, v. 28; Libnah shared the same, v. 29, 30; the king of Gezer, and his people, v. 33; the remaining of Eglon, v. 34, 35; the remaining of Hebron who had not gone to the field, v. 35, are, with its new king and cities, all destroyed, v. 37; Debir, with king and cities, shared the same, v. 38, 39. The sum total account of these is—none left breathing, v. 40, by Joshua, according to Divine command, v. 41, 42, from Kadesh-barnea unto Gaza, and all the country of Goshen unto Gibeon, smitten; ch. xi. 3, the united kings of the adjacent surrounding nations assembled, with their multitude of military hosts of people, horses, and chariots, in formidable battle array. In v. 6, a command to smite, with the encouraging promise of success; v. 7, 8, the execution of the

command, with favour in the accomplishment of the promise in victory; leaving none of the people remaining; houghing their horses, and burning their chariots with fire. After the destruction of all that came to the field of battle, the king of Hazor, who, to the confederacy, was instigator to the rest of the kingdoms who were under him, who himself seems to have been in his own city, Hazor, during the war, or rather to have escaped thither, is, with all its inhabitants, utterly destroyed by Joshua, according to Divine command by Moses, who in this work is owned by the honourable title, "servant of the Lord," v. 10—12. Of the rest of these kings, their cities were preserved, and the spoil given for a prey; but of the people who were in them, and had not gone to the field of battle, none was left to breathe, v. 13, 14. In the prosecution of the Divine command delivered to Moses, Exod. xxxiv. 11, and through him transmitted to Joshua, Deut. xxxi. 1—8, by whom it was obeyed, in the doing of which he took much land, slew kings, and made long war, in obtaining the promised land, Joshua xi. 15—18; during which, none were saved, except those mentioned, ch. ix. 3—27; and in the process of which, by Joshua, in several expressed places, the Anakims, with their cities, were utterly destroyed, ch. xi. 21. In some other expressed places, the Anakims were left to remain, v. 22. After possession in Canaan was obtained, some were spared for a time, ch. xiii. 2—6, 13. ch. xv. 63. ch. xvi. 10. ch. xvii. 12, 13.

While by means of this long war and great destruction, the promised land of Canaan was obtained and given for an inheritance to Israel according to their tribes, and this according to what the Lord said, by promise and for direction to Moses, by whom the process was begun, and to Joshua, by whom it in its progress was carried on and completed, ch. xi. 23; so, in the the pursuance of the same end, each of these, in their office and administration, had Divine authority, direction, and success afforded in the progress of the one cause, wherein there was Divine favour towards them and the rest of the same one people, and severity towards their enemies; affording victory to Israel with-



out the mention of them being overcome, or so much as one of them being killed, except at Hormah under Moses, Num. xiv. 45; and at Ai under Joshua, ch. vii. 5. After which, the relation is by Joshua expressed, v. 9. "our name," "thy name." While, from the same fountain of authority as Moses, Joshua had his commission, Num. xxvii. 18—23, Deut. xxxi. 7, 8, Joshua, i. 1—9; owned by Israel, v. 16—18, magnified by the Lord, ch. iii. 7, ch. iv. 14, ch. x. 12—14; so, after the destruction, each of these vice-gerents, in their respective achievements, is by Divine testimony owned, ch. xii. 1—6, and v. 7—24.

In the course of these instances of destruction, thirty-nine kings and their people were destroyed. Eight of these kings were under Moses, the first being Arad, Num. xxi. 3, and then Sihon, v. 24, then Og, v. 33, whose lands were possessed, Joshua, xii. 2—6. The other five of the Midianites, Num. xxxi. 7, 8, for past seduction, whose land was also given, Joshua, ch. xiii. 20, 21, and thirty-one of those kings were under Joshua, ch. xii. 7, 8, all enumerated, v. 9—24, some of whom were not expressed formerly by name; and, in the whole course of these instances of destruction, there were only three instances of the preservation of people, and four of the preservation of spoil. These instances of destruction, singly or combined, were neither a mean nor a proof of slavery being ordained.

The first instance of the preservation of people was under Moses, Num. xxxi. 18, and these were partly for the Lord, v. 28, 29. 37—40.

The second instance of the preservation of people was under Joshua, ch. vi. 17, of Rahab and her relations, all Canaanites, some male, some female, without any distinction of sex, or of age, v. 23, but these were not for bond service.

The third instance of the preservation of people, which was the second under Joshua, was, ch. ix. 3—27, of the Gibeonites, who also were Canaanites; but the obtaining of these was not by war or destruction, though they were appropriated to bond service in the issue for their falsehood, yet not so at first by

Joshua designed, and yet it was only according to their own words, v. 11, *We are your servants.*

The first instance of the preservation of spoil was under Moses, Num. xxxi, 27—54, partly for the Lord.

The second of spoil, which was the first under Joshua, ch. vi. 19, was wholly for the Lord.

The third, which was the second under Joshua, ch. viii. 2. 27, was of Ai, and wholly for Israel.

The fourth was also under Joshua, ch. xi. 14, of those, v. 1—3, wholly for Israel.

Those mentioned, Joshua, xi. 19, "there was not a city," refer to the first class, Deut. xx. 11—15.

The preserving of the spoil was not taking captive for slaves, and the complete destruction was not taking captive, nor was the sparing, Joshua, xi. 22; for those were let alone altogether, but not in the land by Israel possessed. Those, ch. xiii. 2—6, were not allowed by Joshua to reside among Israel, but were only at that time unsubdued, and were to be driven out, v. 6; and command was previously given to Joshua, to allot the land by distribution in view of its being possessed, v. 7. Those, ch. xiii. 13, were neither destroyed nor made tributary. Those, ch. xv. 63, were at that time not destroyed, nor yet made tributary, and were afterwards expelled, Judges, ch. i. 8, by Judah from what belonged to him, but not by Benjamin, and Jerusalem was formerly taken, Josh. x. 5—27, and the king hanged; and, perhaps, it was through Israel at that time being unable to possess that the Jebusites had gotten it. Those, Joshua, xvi. 10, the Canaanites were slain, 1 Kings, ch. ix. 16, 17. Those, Joshua, ch. xvii. 12, 13, were not driven out, through Manasseh being unable at that time, not obtaining Divine success, having provoked the Lord; but after becoming able, and yet allowing to reside, was a sin, Deut. xx. 16, 17, 18. Acts, xiii. 19, the spared are inconsiderable. Though, in Deut. xx. 11—15, there was an allowance for the preservation of people, yet, except in these formerly mentioned three instances, it was never realised. In all the rest of those instances of destruction, neither male nor female, old nor young, were left to breathe. Surely, hereby slavery was not ordained, nor was the carrying away

captive the women and children to the Divine command, nor the result.

From the second class, Deut. xx. 16, 17, bond servants could not have been obtained, because, in order to keep the church from seduction by the inhabitants of Canaan, that they were not to have the offer of peace and residence by their becoming tributary and submissive as those, v. 10—15, is evident.

1st, From the declarations previously given by promise and command for direction, Exod. xxiii. 23, cut off; v. 28—31, ch. xxxiv. 11—17. Num. xxxiii. 52—55. Deut. iv. 38, drive out; ch. vi. 19, ch. vii. 1, cast out; ch. ix. 3—5, drive out and destroy; ch. xii. 29, cut off; ch. xviii. 12, drive out; ch. xix. 1, cut off. There is also a marked opposition in the direction given, respecting the two classes, Deut. xx. 11—15, and v. 16, 17, together with the conduct of Israel required to be corresponding.

2d, Because for these nations to have been spared, upon their becoming merely tributary, would not have been a sufficient security to the church from being ensnared into sin, to prevent which, Deut. xx. 18, assigns to be the cause of their destruction.

3d, If, upon submission, to have become merely tributary could have been sufficient for the end in view, or even consistent with it, then, though the grown up of the Canaanites had rejected the offer, yet the sparing of their young could have been admitted, as well as the sparing the young of the former class, v. 14; because the young of the Canaanites would have been free of blame in the rejection of the offer of peace; nor was the church so liable to be corrupted by the young as she would have been by the old; yea, the young might have become submissive to the reign of grace.

4th, In distress and difficulty Israel requested Divine countenance, and vowed, that, upon its being granted, they would, without the offer of peace, destroy all without exception, Num. xxi. 2; which implied that Israel viewed it to be the Lord's will, and their duty corresponding to former declarations, yea, in this transaction, Joshua was mouth for Israel.

5th, Upon Israel's vowing, Num. xxi. 2, to destroy all without exception, without the offer of peace, the Lord heard, v. 3, which shows it was corresponding to his design, and after command, Deut. xx. 16, 17; and, though that in Num. xxi. 3, was in order of time before the command, Deut. xx. 16, 17, yet even then he had one end and plan in view, and for the accomplishment of which, declarations were made, Exod. xxiii. 23, ch. xxxiv. 11, &c. and, Num. xxi. 3, was the first instance of destruction of the Canaanites.

6th, By immediate Divine direction, Israel was commanded to destroy Jericho without the offer of peace, Joshua, ch. vi. 1—21, and Israel's conduct corresponding to the command herein, is required to be the same towards Ai, ch. viii. 1, 2.

7th, While, in the declarations by promise and command previously given, there is not once mention of offering peace, so in the whole process, to do this Israel had not once command.

8th, In the whole process of the fore-mentioned destruction, the offering of peace to the Canaanites was never once practised.

9th, From the conduct of Israel towards Arad, Sihon, and Og, Num. xxi. 3, 24, 35, Balak was intimidated, ch. xxii. and the Canaanites, Joshua ii. 9—11; and from the conduct of Israel towards Jericho, Joshua vi. and towards Ai, ch. viii. the Gibeonites were through fear led to use indirect means to preserve their lives, ch. ix. 3—13; and the reason they gave for so doing was, from their view of the account which they had heard of the Divine command as affording no terms of peace, v. 24, else to these terms the Gibeonites would not have been obstinate, for they came to Joshua of their own accord, and to him they became entirely submissive, v. 25; and of this command, v. 24, as given by the Lord to Moses, and of any room for sparing, Joshua gave not the least information of his view of the command.

10th, For destroying without the offer of peace Israel was never once blamed, but for the whole, without the offer of peace, they had Divine approbation, Joshua

xi. 10, of having acted according to the Lord's command.

11th, For sparing any of the second class, Deut. xx. 16, 17, and afterwards allowing them to reside, Israel was led into that which it was the designed end of the destruction to prevent, v. 18, and thereby lost the favour of God, peace, land, children, and their own lives. Though, while under the conduct of Joshua, the command to the execution of destruction was obeyed, Joshua xi. 15; and though, in order to keep them of the church from being seduced into sin, he was careful to guard them against confederacy with those nations, ch. xxiii. 4—16; and though there was room for sparing the first class, Deut. xx. 14; and though it is said, that they of the church obeyed during the life of Joshua, and during the life of the elders, who were contemporaries with Joshua, and survived him, ch. xxiv. 31; yet the sparing of those of the second class, Deut. xx. 16, 17, Judges i. 21, 27—33, ch. ii. 1—23, ch. iii. 1—8, 14, and thereby being led into grievous sin, is mournfully blamed on them of the church, Psalm cvi. 34—40. "They did not destroy the nations concerning whom the Lord commanded them, but were mingled among the heathens, and learned their works, and served their idols, which were a snare unto them; yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils, and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood. Thus they were defiled with their own works, and went a-whoring with their own inventions. Therefore was the wrath of the Lord kindled against his people, insomuch that he abhorred his own inheritance," v. 41—47; 2 Kings xvii. 15—20.

Israel was not only required to dispossess the native inhabitants of Canaan that they themselves might possess, Num. xxxiii. 53, in succession, Deut. xii. 29; but, lest they should be seduced, they were disallowed to make any agreement with the native inhabitants, Exod. xxiii. 32, ch. xxxiv. 12, 15, 16, Deut. vii. 2; yea, for these to dwell among Israel was expressly disallowed, Exod. xxiii. 33. The preservation of Rahab and her

relations was wholly incidental, Joshua vi. 25. The sparing of the Gibeonites, ch. ix. 15, was inadvertently on the part of Israel under Joshua, who agreed, under the consideration of the truth of the Gibeonites' declaration, v. 6—13, that they were from afar of the first class, Deut. xx. 15; and not of those, v. 16, 17. The promise of driving out by little and little, Exod. xxiii. 29, 30, Deut. vii. 2, was only to make gradual way for Israel, with the reason assigned, lest, otherwise, they by the beasts should have been overcome; and, while the dispossessing of these inhabitants is expressed by several terms that express great severity, the reasons were given, and the gradual giving of the land by little and little to Israel gave way for its inhabitants to go to another land, by the doing of which, they by Israel would have been spared, for this purpose hornets were employed, Exod. xxiii. 28; and the term drive out implied their being expelled the land, and not their being destroyed.

Though sparing these nations, and thereby being led into grievous sin, incurred the Divine displeasure, Psalm cvi. 34—47, against them of the church, and subjected them to oppression from these nations, as a punishment from God; and both the seduction of the church into sin, and her persecution by these heathens, form a large and a mournful part of the history of the church, and also the grounds for the infliction of the Divine displeasure on these nations in their destruction; still, great and sore as the destruction was, never in one instance was to obtain slaves the design, or the command of God; nor was the destruction of those creatures the ultimate end of the war, but the punishment and the prevention of sin were the ends, and the destruction the means.

The reason for sparing Rahab and her relations, Joshua vi. 17, 22, was, because she hid the spies that came to view Jericho, v. 25, ch. ii. 1—22. He, whose kingdom ruleth over all, Psalm ciii. 19, who turneth the hearts of men as the rivers of waters, Prov. xxi. 1, who chose Jacob, Psalm cxxxv. 4—6, and directed Abraham's servant, Gen. xxiv. 27, directed the two spies, Joshua ii. 1, to the house of Rahab, who, con-

trary to the inclination of the rest of Jericho, acted that part of conduct in compliance with the Divine will, that was the means of saving the spies, and that entitled her to preservation, and gave Joshua a warrant to make an exemption of her and her relations from general destruction, according to her request, and the solemn promise of the spies, and from the feyness of Rahab with her relations, together with their preservation arising from such an occurrence, the church was not so liable to be seduced; and though, through weakness and fear she lied, Joshua ii. 4, 5, yet in the account of her conduct, that infirmity is overlooked, and it is celebrated as proceeding from faith, Heb. xi. 31; while the rest for want thereof perished, though they were possessed of fear, Joshua ii. 9—11; and faith is said to be the gift of God, Eph. ii. 8. And this distinguishing favour towards her was a prelude of mercy towards the rest of the Gentiles in due time.

The reason for sparing the Gibeonites, Joshua ix. 3—27, was because, though the mutual agreement between them and Israel was through deceit on the part of the Gibeonites, yet the oath on the part of the Church or Israel bound her, since they did not come on her for war, nor stand in the way for her obtaining the promised land; there was no cause to destroy them in order that she might possess, and though the entering into league was not by Divine counsel sought or given, yet the Gibeonites appear not to have been so hardened and obstinate, ch. ix. 12—24, as the rest, ch. x. 4, 5, ch. xi. 5; and thereby the church was not so much in danger from the Gibeonites. Yea, they not only professed subjection, but they became submissive, ch. ix. 25, and were very serviceable afterwards, as we read of them under the name of Nethinims, 1 Chron. ix. 2. which name was just given them, because they were delivered over, Joshua ix. 27; and the killing a number of them by Saul brought three years' famine, 2 Sam. xxi. 1, and death on the bloody house of Saul, v. 2—9.

The reason of Israel being defeated upon their first attempt on Ai, Joshua vii. 5, was, because of the retaining of the accursed spoil, v. 11—13, contrary to

the expressed will of Him who had a right to allow or to disallow, and for Saul retaining, 1 Sam. xv. 8, 9; he was reprov'd, v. 22, 25, wherein the regard to the observation of his sovereign righteous will the Lord did rightfully assert, and to the exact regard to which Israel was strictly enjoined, Deut. xii. 32.

The reason why the Lord disallowed spoil to be preserved at Jericho, Joshua vi. 17, 18, while he appointed it to be kept at Ai, ch. viii. 27, and allowed it, ch. xi. 14. Num. xxxi. 27, was partly from a regard to the observation of his expressed will, Deut. vii. 25, 26; ch. xx. 14, 19, 20, partly from sovereignty, and partly from a fitness in the circumstances of things. Jericho was of Canaan, and the first city of the onset and conquest for obtaining possession; and, in being disallowed its spoil, Josh. vi. 17, 18, in terms expressive of Divine displeasure against it, Israel was herein presented with a view of its sin, and were instructed not to covet; and by compassing the city, and blowing the trumpets, which had no natural efficacy for the designed end, Israel was taught to submit to Divine sovereignty in prescription, and to depend upon Divine faithfulness and power, which were illustriously manifested then, as they formerly had been, ch. iii. 8—17. ch. iv. 1—24, for a memorial to perpetuate his worthy name, in sovereignty, faithfulness, and power, ch. iii. 7.

While the Lord gave orders, and specified the respective subjects of severity, and gave direction as to the varied line of conduct to be pursued, so he had a strict regard to see that his will in all things, respecting people and spoil, was precisely obeyed.

The reason of the destruction of any of the former class, Deut. xx. 11—15, as to the instrumental cause or mean, was their assailing the church. Except at Jericho, Joshua ch. vi. and at Ai, ch. viii. we have not one instance on record of the Israelites first intermeddling with any of those two classes, Deut. xx. 11—15. v. 16, 17, of heathen, and neither Jericho nor Ai belonged to the first class.

The reason of the destruction of so many of the latter class, Deut. xx. 16, in its instrumental cause, was, because they did not, by fleeing, improve the gradual



driving out, Exod. xxiii. 29, 30, by escaping to another land.

The reason why the first class did not comply with the terms that would have saved them, Deut. xx. 11—15, by making peace, and why the second class, ver. 16, did not improve, Exod. xxiii. 29, 30, by fleeing, was, because the Lord left them to hardness of heart, which was increased by their practising and persisting in sin and opposing his providence, Joshua ch. xi. 20. It was of the Lord to harden.

The reason why the Lord left them to hardness was, that he might destroy them, Joshua xi. 20.

The reason why he would destroy them was sin, which, in every instance of judicial judgment, is the meritorious cause. Both the classes were not only naturally enemies to God, but they had set themselves in stated opposition to his plan of grace, which he had devised, and which he had revealed in his church, for the reconciling of men, and bringing them into his favour and to the obedience of his holy will. Though there was room for sparing the former class, Deut. xx. 11—15, and for the other, v. 16, fleeing, Exod. xxiii. 29, 30, and escaping; yet, notwithstanding all the forbearance and favour, Joshua ii. 4, 5, 9, 19, those did not only pass by and did not come in, but the church had to complain, Psalm cxxix. 8, that they did not wish her prosperity, saying, "The blessing of the Lord be upon you: we bless you in the name of the Lord." Yea, Psalm lxxiv. 1, because of persecution, she had to pray to let all be confounded and turned back that hate Zion, Ps. cxxix. 1. Though they heard of the miracles, Joshua ii. 10. ch. v. 1. ch. ix. 9, they opposed, ch. ix. 2. ch. x. 3—5. 33. ch. xi. 1—4; and the incorrigibleness and obstinacy of these seven nations was previously known to God, and the liability of the church, not only to persecution, but to seduction into sin, which is incomparably far worse, and which formerly made him command to destroy, Deut. xx. 16—18; and, upon account of the boldness of both classes in sin, he left them to hardness, in not complying with the respective ways whereby they would have been spared. Though the church had not been liable

to injury from these, yet they in sin had arrived at such a horrid height, *Levit. xviii. 3—28. ch. xx. 2—23. Deut. xx. 16—18*, that they were not only liable to suffer, but their condition as creatures, subjects of God's moral government, required the infliction of punishment, to show his displeasure against sin, and to check its progress; and judgment might have been inflicted by earthquake, famine, pestilence, intestine or foreign war, fire, hail, and brimstone, as on Sodom and Gomorrah; and the employing of the church to destroy gave a more impressive view of the evil of their sin, which she was to view as the cause, in order to keep her from it, *Deut. viii. 19, 20*; and the destruction of those heathens by the hand of man, under the command of God, gave a more signal display of his hatred of sin to the surrounding nations. Of those hostile enemies, the Lord made one nation to destroy another, *Num. xxiv. 22*, yea, one to destroy two, *v. 24*. While thus the immediate reason of the destruction of both classes was to keep the church from sin, the grand reason respecting these classes, independent of the church, was their sin, and for this the land is said to spew them out, *Levit. xviii. 25*, as a warning to the church, *v. 28. ch. xx. 22*.

The favour of victory, the spoil, and the land of Canaan, were to the church, of whom the Lord maketh so great an account, for whom he has done so much, and of whom he says, *Isaiah xlii. 3, 4*, "I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee. Since thou wast precious in my sight thou hast been honourable, and I have loved thee; therefore wil' give men for thee, and people for thy life."

The reason of this conduct toward the church arises from the sovereign, unchangeable love which he beareth unto her, *Psaltn xliv. 3*, and made known by promises, and illustriously exemplified in providence, in the accomplishment of these promises, *Gen. iii. 15—17; ch. xv. 18—21; Exod. xi. 7; ch. xiii. 5, 11; ch. xiv. ch. xv. ch. xxiii. 25—33; ch. xxxiv. 19, 11; Num. xxiv. 5—8, 19—24; ch. xxxv. 50—56; Deut. iv. 37, 38; ch. vii. 1, 3, 16; ch. xi. 24, 25; ch. xxvi. 18, 19; ch. xxxiii. 26, 29; Joshua i. 3—6; ch. iii. 10, 17; ch. iv.*

18, 23, 24; ch. v. 1; ch. vi. 20; ch. viii; ch. x; ch. xi; ch. xii; ch. xiii; ch. xxiv. 5—13; Esther viii. 8—17; Psalm xvi. 1—11; Psalm xviii; Psalm cii. 13—18; Psalm cv; Psalm cvi; Psalm cxxxii. 13—18; Psalm cxxxvi; Isaiah lxiii. 7; Micah vi. 4, 5, to prevent sin in her, for which he threatens as well as promises, Levit. xxvi. Deut. xxviii.

Amidst the diversity of character, condition, and varied administration, in favour and in anger, and the respective ends to which the sometimes spared residue of people and spoil were appropriated, yet still sin was the reason or procuring cause of destruction in all the fore-mentioned instances of the church, Num. xxv, of them who seduced her, ch. xxxi.; also, for which the command was given, Exod. xxxiv. 10—16; Deut. vii. 1—5; ch. xx. 17, 18, which was executed, Num. xxxi, and Joshua vi. to ch. xii. While the church was the subject of suffering in the one case, her enemies were the subjects in all the other instances; in one of which it was to punish for sin in time past, in all the other instances to prevent it in her in time to come. The command for destruction is not more plainly given than the reason is assigned, so that, with respect to the reasons for destruction, Mercator had no need to say for reasons inscrutable, as if he thereby designed to keep from inquiring into that which would not bear the light discoverable by investigation, which also seems to be his design, by his slight reference to scripture, thereby giving a very mutilated and false view of the subject.

While the whole was by the command of him who has a right to kill and to save alive, whose authority can be questioned by none, his equity, amidst his sovereignty, in his whole diversified conduct, in the directly opposite ways of favour towards some and anger towards others, is apparent, in his design for one uniform end, in the destruction and in the prevention of sin, especially in his church; and this arises from the holiness of his nature, which shines in every page of his word, in promises, commands, and threatenings, and in every dispensation of providence, whether in favour or in anger, and is eminently shown in his church; and this arises from the relation in which he stands to her,

and because he desires to dwell in her, for the same holy end, in the prevention of sin, and the destruction of it in the souls of men—for which becoming, holy, blessed end, all her ordinances are designed, and calculated to effect. And the severity was on heathens, who, in their predecessors, had left the church, which, in his sovereignty, and in the riches of his grace, for the glory of his worthy name, he had erected for the salvation of men, and in which those predecessors might have continued, and into which successors might have returned, and upon the doing of which they, along with her, would have enjoyed a dispensation of grace; but, instead of this, notwithstanding, Num. xx. 14—21. Deut. ii. 1—6, 9, 19. Gen. xxi. 17, 18, mutually conspiring for her destruction, Psalm lxxxiii. 2—8, all formed a moral ground for this Divine judicial administration towards them, and showed judgment to be from him whose name is holy; and his conduct both towards them and towards the church showed that he is the holy one in the midst of Israel, and that his name, his nature, and his ways, do cordially agree. And, while the destruction on many was in righteousness, the taking captive the residue was mercy towards them, because they thereby obtained good temporal usage, and were also brought to enjoy spiritual privileges worth more than all which they formerly enjoyed. And thus it was, also, equity in the Divine administration, when circumstances did admit, in which there was not only lenity, but even something of the beaming of the gracious character of God.

Although, for punishing sin in the past, and for preventing it in the future, the Lord commanded these destructions on many, and in a very few instances, when expedient, allowed some to be preserved alive, and gave the thus-spared residue for the service of the church,—yet thence the destruction was not for the end of obtaining slaves; and, though the judgment was severe, yet all upon account of sin, as the procuring cause, which he wishes us to know, which made judgment necessary—and not from a view of temporal enjoyment of cities or of flocks, nor for the service of these heathens, who were the creatures of God—nor for spoil, which some-

times was not allowed to be kept, yea, for the keeping of which Achan brought the Divine displeasure on the whole community of Israel, making them to be overcome by the enemy, and some killed, and Divine orders given to search, which, by Divine direction, was effectual to the discovery of Achan, Joshua vii. 18, who, with his family and their flocks, were stoned, and, with the rest of their substance and accursed spoil, were burned, v. 25, which made the Lord's controversy to end; upon which account the place, which was the valley of Gilgal, was called the valley of Achor, which is said to signify trouble, and which no doubt it was in the first place;—but, upon the execution of punishment for the retained spoil, just signifies the turning away of the fierce anger of the Lord, v. 26, and the rolling away of reproach, Joshua v. 9, which instance is referred unto, Hosea ii. 15; upon which turning away of Divine anger from the church, she was to sing as in the days of her youth. Neither by means of, nor upon account of, these destructions, victory, and spoil of the land of Canaan, was slavery ordained. Though, upon these accounts, and for the forementioned ends, with certain restrictions, bond-service was appointed under that economy, yet, without the same circumstances, the conduct of Divine sovereignty herein can never be intended to be a rule or model to us; since it was upon these accounts, and commanded by God, there was no need for the prophets to have lifted up their voices against it; but it was abolished by Christ in his death abrogating that dispensation, in which, by Divine authority, it was altered.

While the Divine conduct was sovereignty, in a way of favour towards some, and of severity towards others, the favour was towards the Church, and the severity towards her enemies, who are specified, Deut. vii. 1. ch. xx. 16. But, from this, what warrant can West Indians draw to go to Africa to capture blacks, and make them slaves? There are not the same circumstances between the West Indians and Africans, as there were between the church of old and the nations around her; nor have West Indians any command to destroy Africa, nor do they go for the purpose of punishing sin, nor

yet of preventing it; yea, the trade occasions much sin and much suffering. And while, in some cases under the ancient dispensation, even women and children were dissallowed to be kept, the West Indians in the trade bring men, women, and children, without a Divine command through any legislator whatever. In modern times, there is as little warrant to go to Africa, and to bring men, women, and children, as there is to kill their males, and set their cities on fire,—since the grand end of the Divine conduct in the former destructions was not to obtain slaves (for the traffic in which, Mercator uses the two passages of Scripture for his warrant and defence), but to punish and to prevent sin, which, by the present slavery, is much according to his own words, p. 7, which he calls a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes; and, since for this sin Divine displeasure was eminently shown, Num. xxv. ch. xxxi. so, to apply this to them of the West Indies, they would be visited with destruction, especially the colonists, who occasion the sin, by their trade, and also the slave traders who convey them, and chiefly Mercator, for endeavouring to defend that system and trade, which has its rise in stealing people from Africa, and bringing them to the West Indies, whereby is occasioned so much sin; and in quoting Scripture for his warrant and defence, there are wickedness and perversion of Scripture similar to those of the devil in his temptation of Christ, Luke iv. 5—11. While the Scripture requires worship, it is to the Divine majesty, and forbids it to be given to any creature; and Christ is a Divine person, and the devil is a creature the most depraved; and, while there is the promise of protection, it is only in the way of duty, Psalm xci. 11. “in all thy ways.”

I may mention, and it can be no more than a mentioning, what every man that has the Bible has therein discovered unto him—that every precept under both dispensations forbids both the sin and suffering produced by the West Indian slave trade; and that our Lord requires that we do to others as we would that they should do to us, is known by him who has scarcely discerned any more. Love, which would lead to this exercise, is, under the new dispensation, said to be the

fulfilling of the law, and is of a special and of a common kind; and, while we ought to have a special love towards them who are possessed of what affords ground for it, we ought to have a love of a common kind to all men, inclining us to do them all the good that lies in our power, by preventing sin in them, and suffering from being inflicted upon them; and to the exercise of love, in these different respects, towards each in their respective characters and conditions, we are not only, by high authority, enjoined, but to it we are also encouraged by unexampled love, which was exercised to prevent both sin and suffering. The voluntary mission of Christ was to destroy the works of the devil, of which modern slavery is a part, 1 John iii. 8.

Slavery, as now carried on, was never ordained, and even what was formerly allowed is now altogether disallowed. This I will show, by observing a few things from the undeniable record of him who has an indisputable right to dispose, as he sees meet, of the persons and properties of men, and to whose will the whole creation must nod.

Though bond service had its origin in time immemorial, especially among heathen nations not under a dispensation of special grace, yet, as it was obtained and carried on among these, it is not the subject of present inquiry, because they acted as they pleased; and, they not being regulated by Divine orders, we have nothing to do with the commencement and continuance of slavery among them. Our rule for direction is the Divine appointment to them of the church respecting it, and from this Mercator pretends to draw a warrant. He who predicted Gen. ix. 25, 26, also predicted Psalm lxxii. 17, Col. iii. 11, and requires v. 12—15, &c. Divine prediction is no rule for us, but the law is, Gen. xv. 13, 14.

The manner in which servants, male and female, free and bond, were obtained from among Hebrews, and from among heathens, as allowed and appointed by God, we will find to be in the following ways:—

1st, By voluntary agreement between the master and the servant, and servants obtained in this manner are called hired servants, Exod. xii. 45. Levit. xxv. 6, 40;

50, 53. Deut. xxiv. 14, and might sometimes have been Hebrews, and sometimes heathen, Deut. xxiv. 14; and the custom in this manner is alluded unto, Lev. xix. 13, Job vii. 1, ch. xiv. 6, Matt. xx. 1—7; and the time of a hired servant of old seems to have been three years, Deut. xv. 18, Isaiah xvi. 14; ~~one~~ year, Levit. xxv. 53; and one day, Matt. xx. 1—7. "At his day," Deut. xxiv. 15, may mean—at the exact expiration of the appointed time of payment, whether three years, one year, or one day.

2dly, By the person voluntarily selling himself, Levit. xxv. 47. The one sold is a brother, a member of the church to whom the direction was given; and the buyer is a sojourner, or a stranger; and, while a sojourner is one that is not a native Hebrew, nor has any inheritance, yet he is here supposed to be rich; and, whether he and the stranger be one person or not, yet the buyer to whom the epithets are here given remained out of the church, still in the vicinity of Canaan. Hebrews were disallowed to be sold, by themselves or by another, to any not church members, unless residing among them, the church, Levit. xxv. 48. Hebrews had been sold to a heathen, and redeemed, Neh. v. 8, according to Levit. xxv. 47—49, but he got the price himself.

3dly, By the person, without any crime, through poverty, being sold by another to pay debt, Levit. xxv. 39. The person who is sold is a church member, whether a proselyted Gentile or a native Hebrew, 2 Kings iv. 1, 2. Nehemiah v. 1—5. These were Hebrews sold unto Hebrews; but the continuance in bond service of these sold in that condition, is in the sequel disallowed. This practice of selling for debt is alluded unto, Matt. xviii. 25. Sometimes buying and selling are mentioned without poverty being assigned as the cause, though it probably generally was so; Deut. xv. 12, includes both sexes, and also seems to express them as being sold by another; and, in connexion with v. 7—11, it seems to be through poverty. Also, Levit. xxv. 44, 45, heathens and the children of sojourners sold. Exod. xxi. 7, "a man," who appears to have been a Gentile, selling a daughter. Abraham also had servants who were bought, Gen. xvii. 12, 13,



23 27, and in v. 12, 27, bought with money of any stranger, and Exod. xii. 44, bought by Israel. In Exod. xxi. 2, the direction being to the church, the buyer must have been a Hebrew, or else at least a church member, and the one to be bought a native Hebrew; but whether sold by himself or by another, is not said; but, according to other places, it might have been either way. In the former particular, the person sold himself; in this, he is sold by another. That in Exod. xxi. 7, respects not whether the seller be a native Hebrew, or a native Gentile continuing so still, but only the treatment that is to be given by the buyer, who was a church member, to the daughter who was sold. That, Exod. xxi. 2, respects chiefly the time of service and the manner of release. "Of any stranger," Gen. xvii. 12, may mean one who sells the person who is bought by Abraham, or it may mean the person selling himself, and the community to which he natively belonged, and thereby said not to be the seed of Abraham. If the last, it is the person selling himself; if the former, it is a person selling another to Abraham. "Of any stranger," respected those who were then in the possession of Abraham before the institution of circumcision was given, and the command respecting Gentiles in Abraham's house being circumcised; and it respected those who afterwards should be bought by him or by his seed; and, though we are not informed how he obtained those whom he had before the giving of the command, yet, when he was so noble as would not, by way of favour or gift, take a latchet of a shoe, Gen. xiv. 23, nor a place to bury his dead, ch. xxiii. 3, we are not to suppose that he got his servants by violence or by stealth, or that he connived at stealing—all which would not have been only sinful, but also grovelling and mean; and to his conduct, in freedom from attachment to the world, he had Divine approbation Gen. xiii. 14—17, in the promise of Canaan, after he had shown his freedom from covetousness by giving Lot his choice, v. 9. If, Exod. xxi. 2, they sold themselves through choice, without need through poverty, it implied that the condition of bond-service was not undesirable by them.

4thly, By being sold for theft, when unable to make restitution, Exod. xxii. 2, 3; and, though expressed only in the masculine gender, being only in the singular number, yet of females being exempted we have no inspired information.

5thly, By a Divine grant and appointment to them of the church, of heathens afar off, who were taken captive in war, Num. xxxi. 18, 35, Deut. xx. 11, ch. xxi. 10, 11, 1 Kings ix. 21. Lot was taken captive, Gen. xiv. 14, and would have been subjected. Joseph was sold by capture, through his false brethren, Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36. But this is no rule to us, it being only the conduct of them who acted without regard to the Divine will. Perhaps, from bond-service then existing in Noah's time, did he say, Gen. ix. 25, "A servant of servants shall he be." The selling of Joseph was also contrary to humanity, brotherhood, and every obligation arising from relation, excellency, and age. Joseph, and affection of his father, and exposed him to cruelty and seduction to sin, which was still worse, and deprived him of parental counsel and protection—for which the consciences of his brethren afterwards accused them; however, from seduction the Lord preserved him, and obtained his release.

6thly, By buying, and retaining in possession, heathens of both sexes, round about the church, Levit. xxv. 44; of the children of strangers that sojourned or dwelt among them of the church, v. 45; also, the families of them that were with them of the church, v. 45. The former reference in section 3d, Levit. xxv. 44—45, respected simply the class not being Hebrews; a 1, being bought, this respects the continuance in possession of the offspring in succession; but it was not to be by compulsion, but by voluntary choice that they were to be sold. Very observable, also, it is, however, that the master, having a parent in service, was not entitled to the child of that parent, but by buying it, though it was begotten in the land; and those parents and children thus bought remained the property of the children of the master after his death. Abraham had servants born in his own house, Gen. xiv. 14, ch. xvii. 12, 13, 23, respected not so much their condition as

servants, bond or free, as their condition as subjects of circumcision. Ishmael was born in the house, ch. xvi. 15, of a bond-woman, ch. xxi. 9, 10, 12, 13. To this, being born in the house, and of servants, there is allusion, Psalm lxxxvi. 16, where, for a spiritual end, and not for bond-slave service, there is a respect to relation, as being a servant—in the character of which he seeks strength; and then, “the son of thine hand-maid,” which expresses relation, or one on whom God had a claim; and also expresses humility on the part of the Psalmist, considering and acknowledging his low parentage or pedigree. The same is expressed, Psalm cxvi. 16; and, as in both places it was in a spiritual way in which the Psalmist was dealing with God, so, in the last, the loosing of bands were those of a spiritual kind, as to guilt, and especially more immediately as to bondage frame, by the outlettings of God’s law in its exercise. In Jer. ii. 14, we read of a home-born slave.

7thly, By retaining the wife and her children, when she had been given by her master, Exod. xxi. 4.

8thly, By the Hebrew male, or female, refusing to leave their master, Deut. xv. 12, 17, from love to him and his house; and, Exod. xxi. 5, the male, from love to his master, and his wife and children.

By Divine authority, man-stealing was punishable by death, Exod. xxi. 16, Deut. xxiv. 7. “If a man,” and this man is a church member, being a brother to the children of Israel. 1 Tim. i. 10, men-stealers are classed with sinners the most atrocious and vile, against whom the law still continues.

Of old, bond-servants had privileges, spiritual and temporal; and this was becoming him by whose authority the condition of things was ordered; and to have been in this condition was a privilege for a bond-servant, whether he was so by captivity or by choice. And, in treating on these privileges, I shall consider, in general, wherein these privileges consisted, as enjoyed by the church; and the Divine care that bond-servants should, along with the church, participate therein.

I. Circumcision, Gen. xvii. 1—27, in which is comprehended—

1st, Its Author—the Lord, in the supernatural revelation of himself, under the name of Almighty God, Gen. xvii. 1;—the glorious fountain of all unoriginated bliss in himself; and who, from his propriety as Creator, is the fountain of all underived authority; and who, in his new-covenant character to the church, is her object of worship; into compliance with whose will, in this character, for the glory of his name, all obedience, in its motives and end, must be resolved.

2d, He to whom this revelation originally was made was he who came out of Ur of the Chaldees, whose name originally was Abram, but on this occasion changed into Abraham, v. 1—6; wherein there was sovereignty, as Psalm cxxxv. 4, choosing Jacob in Abraham, and erecting the church in his seed.

3d, Circumcision in the manner of its institution; by first, taking into covenant, v. 2, I will make my covenant with thee; v. 4, my covenant is with thee; v. 7, establish my covenant; v. 9, keep my covenant; secondly, by appointing circumcision as that which he required thereupon on the part of Abraham; v. 10, this is my covenant which ye shall keep, every, &c. shall be circumcised, v. 11—13.

4th, The covenant in the blessings that it contained; which were, first, spiritual, v. 7, a God unto thee; v. 8, I will be their God; wherein there was God in his blessed being, person, perfections, purposes, and ways, in the holiness of his nature, and rich overflowing grace of his covenant, to be conveyed in the administration thereof, of which circumcision was a part, its token and seal, and of equal extent with itself, and ever afterwards the door for admission into the church; secondly, in that which was temporal, all the land of Canaan, v. 8; Num. xxxiv. 2—15.

5th, The subjects with whom the covenant was established, and to whom its blessings were promised, v. 7; Abraham and his seed by Sarah, v. 16; in the line of Isaac, v. 19, 21; Ishmael was rejected, though to him there was the promise of posterity and renown,

v. 20; a complicated series of evils followed unlawfully-begotten, Ishmael.

6th. The stability of the covenant arising from the eternity and immutability of him, who, v. 1, in majesty expresses his infinite, all-sufficient power to carry into effect his design, the unalterable nature of which is expressed by v. 2, I will; v. 4, my covenant is with; v. 7, I will establish, v. 8, I will give; and I will be their God; which was a privilege on their part, and by this transaction God had a peculiar claim to them which he did ever afterwards maintain, Isaiah xlii. 1, thou art mine. During that dispensation, he did never cease to be their God, nor to preserve them to be his, although much adversity was measured out to them, and upon this relation and claim he will yet recover them, Jer. xxxii. 37—44, Rom. xi. 23—28. The suspension of Canaan for a while, even to the seed in the line of Isaac, and Canaan never being enjoyed by Ishmael, nor actually even by Abraham personally, Acts vii. 5; nor by any of those who were servants born in his house, or bought with his money, nor of his seed, did not in the least impair the covenant in its stability. Sin made the possession to be delayed for a while, during which time Ishmael left the church and covenant, Gen. xxi. 21. Abraham, and all his servants born in his house and bought with his money, died. When Abraham's seed in the line of Isaac, first, Joseph, Gen. xxxvii. 36; and then the rest, xvi. 3—26, went down into Egypt, excepting Joseph they had no servants, and in process of time they became servants themselves, Ex. i. 8—14. After their deliverance from Egypt, and in the wilderness forty years, we are not informed of their having any servants; and all those who came to Canaan, Joshua, xiii. ch. xvii, and had the land divided, were the seed of Abraham in the line of Isaac; so herein, in establishing the covenant in Isaac, Gen. xvi. 16, 19, 21, Rom. ix. 8, restricting its blessing to descend through him, and Canaan to be enjoyed by his seed, there was a prediction of what was to take place, as well as a promise of what was to be enjoyed. As at first, in choosing Abraham from among all others besides, there was sovereignty, so also here in rejecting Ish-

mael, and in establishing the covenant in the line of Isaac, there was sovereignty, holiness, righteousness, prescience; so also in fulfilling the covenant, making Isaac to descend from Abraham when he was one hundred, and from Sarah when she was ninety; and also in the after conduct of Divine providence, there was stability in purpose, and verity in promise, and power in carrying into effect.

7th, The covenant in its duration. v. 7; everlasting, both as to God being a God to Abraham, and to his seed after him, and as to the males born in his house and bought with money, v. 10—13; and also to the seed of Abraham in the line of Isaac having the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession, v. 11. Whatever change in the administration he saw meet to make, did not affect the covenant itself. The coming of Messiah, with whatever change he made, did not require that God should cease from being their God, nor that they should be deprived of Canaan; and though it, in grant by favour, was in promise by covenant at the institution of circumcision, yet, after being in possession, it was only by breach of covenant on their part, whereby the possession could have been lost, Levit. xxvi. 3—45, Deut. xxviii. 63—68; but, Jer. xxxii. 37—44, only after the coming of Christ they might have sold it, and it not continued unalienable, as Levit. xxv. 23, 28. Thus, while those who reached Canaan enjoyed it for natural support for their bodies; so, for the souls of all classes, Abraham, and his seed and servants, God was a portion here and hereafter; so they might sing, Psalm xxiii. 6.

8th, The place where the covenant was made, v. 8, which was in the land of Canaan, where Abraham then was. The occasion of his posterity afterwards coming to Canaan, was in consequence of Abraham in Jacob's family going down to Egypt, first, Joseph, Gen. xxxvii. 36, then his rest, ch. xlvi. 3—7, Psalm cv. 23.

9th, The time when the covenant was made, and circumcision instituted with Abraham was, when he was ninety-nine years old, Gen. xlvii. 1; and on the same day was circumcision observed, v. 22—27.

10th, Circumcision in its rite; v. 14, 23—25, circumcising the flesh of your foreskin; and a more full

explication necessity does not require, nor modesty allow.

11th, In its subjects, as to their classes; v. 9, Abraham and his seed in succession; and, v. 12, 13, those who were born in his house, or bought with his money of any stranger that was not of his seed, Exod. xii. 48.

12th, In their sex; v. 10, every man-child; v. 12, "and he"—every man-child; v. 13, "he;" Joshua v. 4.

13th, In their age; v. 12, on the eighth day. But it included all who were born before its institution, even Abraham who was ninety-nine, and Ishmael who was thirteen years old, v. 23—27. The eighth day was the Divine appointment, beyond which there was no allowance to pass, ch. xxi. 4, Phil. iii. 5; even though it happened on the Sabbath, John vii. 23. The neglect in the wilderness was partly through want of proper conveniency, and partly through being hardened under Divine restraint for sin, which was the procuring cause of being in the wilderness and under restraint, and for a while deprived of Canaan, and being thus involved without full marks of God's favour; which condition was a reproach, but which he rolled away, Joshua v. 2—9; and to the same person circumcision was never repeated.

14th, In its signification, which was a divinely appointed distinguishing token, or sign of the covenant relation, ch. xi, between God and all at that time circumcised, and their seed; and it was the door for the admission of others into the church, Ezek. xlv. 7, 9, by which those from among the Gentile nations around, or foreigners, were called proselytes, while the lineal descendants of Abraham were called Hebrews. Whatever was the etymology, time, or occasion of the term being first applied, the first time we find it on record it was given to Abraham, before he was circumcised, Gen. xiv. 13; but both classes were, by circumcision, members of the church, and in covenant relation with God, which involved in it, a gracious right that they had to all that is included in "I will be your God," with whatever after revelation was made as an encouragement to them to embrace, enjoy, and obey, and a right

that he had to them, requiring from them that which this revelation did demand. The outward rite of circumcision in the flesh shewed the need of circumcision of the heart, Ezek. xxxvi. 26, called a new heart, the want of which is expressed by uncircumcised in heart and in ear, Acts vii. 51; and for want of it in the heart was there uncircumcisedness in ear, or a want of submissive listening to obey. The covenant contains the promise, "The Lord your God will circumcise your heart to love him," Deut. x. 6. The very taking into this covenant relation, by lopping off from the nations around, implied the cutting off of the sins of the flesh, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, Titus iii. 5; (and these sins are, Gal. v. 19—20) not only a retrenching and cutting off of sin, but the implantation of grace. The outward was a sign and a seal of the inward to Abraham, Rom. iv. 11, and before he was outwardly circumcised he had faith of grace, or his heart circumcised, which made him to have a regard to God's will in all his institutions, Gen. xlii. 19. ch. xxvi. 5. Yea, that is not circumcision which is only outward in the flesh, but inward in the heart, but the approbation and commendation of which is of God, Rom. ii. 28, 29. Gal. vi. 15. Col. ii. 11—13. Hence, regeneration being but once, so was circumcision; but the rest of the ordinances were repeated, and some very frequently, because of the need of renewed supplies of grace communicated by these ordinances, Rom. vi. 4. 2 Cor. xii. 13. 1 Peter iii. 21.

15th, In its duration, thy seed after thee in their generations, v. 9, every man-child in your generations, v. 12; my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant, until Divine authority that appointed it did annul it by the coming of Christ, meritoriously taking away sin, and purchasing all which by circumcision was signified, Col. iii. 10—17, and baptism now supersedes it, 1 Cor. vii. 18.

16th, The inducement which arose from the gracious revelation, Gen. xlii. 1, 2, which produced reverence, v. 3, followed by continued revelation and Divine favour, in the change of name to Abraham, v. 5, and to his wife, v. 15. The promise of the posterity being



numerous and great, v. 16; the land of Canaan, in the line of Sarah, from whom Isaac was to descend, through whom the Messiah was to come; and, though the covenant was to be established in Isaac, yet the covenant and its sign, and all the blessings it contained, including Ishmael and those born in Abraham's house, and those bought with his money of any stranger, along with himself, who was also a stranger at that time in the land where he was; and the all-comprehensive promise, "I will be a God to thee and to thy seed after thee," v. 7, beyond which more could not have been desired, nor enjoyed, and all the authority thereby interposed, and blessedness therein to be experienced, in the enjoyment of the administration of the covenant, in this revelation of God, by a regard to his will, in complete obedience—v. 1, walk before me, and be thou perfect; which favour is urged as an enforcement, and thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, v. 9; and also all the superadded revelation and continued care toward the seed of Abraham, in all their pilgrimage, in a land where in condition they were strangers, and in number few, Psalm cv. 12. Isaiah xlii. 8—10.

17th. The penalty, "cut off," v. 14, from the enjoyment of special privileges along with Israel; and this seems to respect the uncircumcised, while he was young, under the name of man-child, and the reason was, "he hath broken my covenant;" because circumcision was God's covenant on the part of men, v. 10. Then God ceased to own that child in a special manner, and this is the enforcement of v. 13, ye must needs be circumcised. How he could have had the members of the church for his people, and yet they not circumcised, shows that they were his by being descended from him; and yet such was the tenor of the covenant toward them in it, and toward their seed.

II. The daily burnt-offering, with its meat-offering and drink-offering, Exod. xxix. 38, 39—42. Num. xviii. 3, 4—8.

1st. Its author, the Lord, who speaks from Exod. xiv. 1, to ch. xxx. 38; yea, to ch. xxxii. 17. Num. xviii. 1, to ch. xix. 17.

2d. The place of divine institution, Sinai, where Moses was, Exod. xix. 38, which is expressly mentioned, Num. xix. 2. 8.

3d. The time of the institution, which was a little after the delivering of the ten commandments, Exod. xx. and after the six days' stay of the Divine glory, ch. xxiv. 16, on which occasion, in the seventh day, Moses was called to the midst of the cloud, where he was forty days, v. 17, 18, during which time these sacrifices and offerings, Exod. xxix. 32-42, were appointed, and afterwards renewed, Num. xxviii; all during the forty years that elapsed between Israel's leaving Egypt and their arriving at Canaan.

Though this be the first of sacrifices and offerings mentioned after leaving Egypt, yet, doubtless, it was not the first of observation by the church, by divine institution. Probably those coats, Gen. iii. 21, were of beasts slain in sacrifice. From Cain and Abel, Gen. iv. 3-5, it is very probable, yea, absolutely certain, that sacrifices and offerings were then of Divine institution; for Abel did it in faith, Heb. xi. 4, which must have had a foundation, and this could only be in the authority and gracious character of God, in institution eyed by Abel; and the sacrifice of Abel was accepted by God, who rejected, yea, resented the offering of what was not appointed, Levit. xi. 1, 2. And it does not appear to have been from the kind of offering that Abel's offering was accepted, in preference to Cain's, but only from the frame of mind in Abel to which it is ascribed; for the fruits of the ground, offered of old by Cain, were of Divine appointment afterwards, as in the progress will appear, and appears to have been of Divine appointment then; and it is likely that this determines the term "the end of days," Gen. iv. 3, not to have been at the end of the week, but at the end of the year, or at the expiration of the time for the fruits of the ground being offered. That which in our Version, Gen. iv. 3, is rendered "in process of time," or "at the end of days," is owned to be the very same in the original with what is rendered "every year's end," 2 Sam. xiv. 26, respecting the polling of Absalom's hair, which could not have grown to such an extent in a

week of seven days, and did not, therefore, admit of the rendering of the term to be at the end of the days of a week. Also, that the two hundred shekels were the weight of the hair, and not of the price for it, seems, from two things, 1st, Because it is not the scope to speak of Abrahim's income; but of his personal endowments. 2dly, If it had been money, it would have been mentioned whether silver or gold; yea, it is not likely that it was sold at all. The classing the beasts into clean and unclean, Gen. vii. 2, 8, seems to have proceeded from Divine institution respecting sacrifices; as Gen. 20, or else behoved to have had respect to what was eatable by man, if animal food had then at all been allowed, Gen. xxi. 13; yea, ch. xiv. 18, Melchizedec was priest of the Most High God. Also, Exod. ii. 18, ch. v. 3, ch. viii. 27, ch. x. 9, 25, mention sacrifices all previous to Exod. xix. 38—42, Num. xxviii. 3—8; yea, the sacrifice of the passover was both in institution and observation previous to Exod. xix. 38—42, Num. xxviii. 3—8, so that Ps. xl. 6, Ps. l. 9—14, Ps. li. 16, are not expressive of the want of Divine institution respecting sacrifices and offerings, nor of the inacceptableness of these when observed according to Divine institution; nor is Jerem. vi. 21—23, expressive either of the Divine disregard to these, nor of the want of these by Divine institution before Exod. xix. Num. xxviii. which were after the giving of the law, ch. xx. Ps. li. 16, is indeed expressive of the want of sacrifice by Divine institution for the complicated sin of adultery and murder, which the Psalmist there laments. Jerem. vii. 21—23, has a respect to the time of the Lord's bringing Israel out of Egypt, Exod. xv. 25, 26, where he made them a statute and ordinance; and said, if ye diligently hearken to my voice, &c. So that, though this was previous to the institution of sacrifices after the giving of the law, and for want of regard to moral obedience, and for going on in wilful known sin, which is mentioned by Jeremiah, vii. 9, the Lord rejects their prayers, y. 16, and complains, y. 18; for which sin the Lord shows that he rejected even other parts of service by them, though appointed by him, and that it was de-

ceiving themselves, v. 8, to expect acceptance in such a course, as also in Ps. l. 16—22. Yet Jeremiah did not say that sacrifices were not instituted either before or after the leaving of Egypt; nor does he, nor Ps. l. say that sacrifices were unacceptable when rightly performed; for Ps. l. 4—6, approves, and even in v. 8, does not blame for these. 1 Sam. xv. 22, is also, James ii. 10, 11, shows the need of a universal regard to all God's will, for the want of which even things commanded by him will be rejected; and, though sacrifices were appointed by him, and necessary to be observed by them, and when rightly done would have been accepted; yet these sacrifices were not intended to put away sin, and the continual offering and repetition showed this, and, while it was not possible, Heb. x. 4, they pointed out the anti-type, who, Ps. xl. 3, says, I delight to do thy will, and put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.

4th, The manner of institution, by Divine charge to Moses, Exod. xxix. 38; Num. xxviii.

5th, The frequency and permanency, day by day continually, Exod. xxix. 38, Num. xxviii. 3.

6th, The distributive times of the day, even in the morning and evening of the day, Exod. xxix. 39. Num. xxviii. 4, 8.—perhaps the former nine, and the latter three o'clock.

7th, The recognized subjects, Num. xxix. 1, called the children of Israel, and herein the same referred unto, Exod. xxix. 38, to whom Moses is directed to speak, ch. xxv. 1, 2.

8th, The different respective offerings, which were animal meat-offerings and drink-offerings, Num. xxviii. 3—8; v. 2, respected also other ordinances, mentioned in the following part of the chapter.

9th, The daily animal sacrifices, which were, in their kind, lambs, Exod. xxix. 38, Num. xxviii. 3, as Levit. i. 2, of the flock.

10th, In their number, two, Exod. xxix. 38, Num. xxviii. 3.

11th, In their age, of the first year, Exod. xxix. 38, Num. xxviii. 8.

12th, In the quality or condition, without spot, Num. xxviii. 3; required, also, Levit. i. 10.

13th, The meat-offering was, in its kind, a composition of flour and beaten oil, Exod. xxix. 40; Num. xviii. 27.

14th, The quality of the flour, fine, Levit. ii. 1; though not mentioned, Exod. xxix. nor Num. xxviii.

15th, The meat-offering in quantity was, of flour the tenth-part of an ephah, and of beaten oil the fourth-part of an hin, Exod. xxix. 40; Num. xviii. 27.

16th, The drink-offering, in its kind fine, Exod. xxix. 40.

17th, In its quality, strong, Num. xviii. 27.

18th, The drink-offering in quantity, the fourth-part of an hin, Exod. xxix. 40; Num. xviii. 27.

19th, The distributive times of these offerings to be presented, were in the morning and evening, Exod. xxix. 39; and Num. xviii. 4, 8.

20th, The end of this ordinance, "for a sweet savour unto the Lord," Exod. xxix. 41; Num. xviii. 6, 8, which was said, v. 2, of the rest of the ordinances at large, and this required in Israel a proper view of these

in their Author, in his being, and in his authority, in their design, in the institution of this ordinance, which was its signification. This pointed out guilt, and that without shedding of blood there is no remission; it being typically vicarious, and, while inefficient of itself, is shown by its repetition, directed to the great Anti-type; and, while sacrifices were ineffectual in themselves, yet were they necessary to be observed, being appointed for the ends of institution, one of which was to direct to look forward to Christ.

21st, The place where the burnt-offering was to be offered was at the door of the tabernacle, Exod. xxix. 42, for all Israel collectively, as were also burnt-offerings, Levit. i. 3, for an individual; while slain on the side of the altar north-ward, v. 11, which fire was to burn continually; and to be attended by the priest, Levit. vii. 9-12.

The joint participation by Israel showed a joint participation in sin, and was by favour, from God to them, appointed as means of delivery from sin.

22d, The perpetuity and duration of this ordinance, Exod. xxix. 42; a continual burnt-offering throughout your generation, Num. xxviii. 3, Dan. ix. 27.

23d, The inducement, Exod. xxix. 42, 43, "There will I meet with you. There will I meet with the children of Israel, and the tabernacle shall be sanctified by my glory," and, v. 44, sanctify the tabernacle, Aaron and his sons; v. 45, I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God. Instead of Aaron and his sons the head of the family was priest, Exod. xix. 22.

III. They had spiritual instruction concerning God in his being, persons, properties essentially possessed by each person, his councils and ways, and his character, his relation to us, his dispensation and administration towards Adam and all men in him now involved, while declared in the word, corroborated with the universal verification in the persons of all the sons of men, and our relation as creatures come short of his glory. His dispensation towards the Church of old, by covenant promises, rules, institutions, order, punishment of sin by rulers, which is yet continued by promise prophesied to the Church; and a command to rulers to exercise, and subjects to submit, all illustrative of the majesty, holiness, and glory of God, in both mercy and justice, sometimes sweetly combined, and sometimes justice purely alone, all becoming the ever-blessed God; which supernatural revelation in the knowledge of God, through the blessed design of salvation, began early to be sweetly made known, Gen. iii. 15; with whatever after revelation was gradually made unto the church of himself, in his absolutely peerless majesty, unity in nature, Deut. vi. 4; perfections, councils, and way, and in process of time the law of the ten commands, Exod. xx. 1—17, in which the servant and stranger are recognised, v. 10. Also, the reading and expounding of the law, containing the whole of the Divine revelation, showing the will of Him who, in a new-covenant character, recognises Israel, v. 2; and showing His holiness, the evil of sin, their need of a Saviour, and of dealing with God in his new-covenant character, and along with the rest of the Divinely-appointed or-

finances, some of which were, *Exod. xx. 24—26*; and some before of statutes, and some afterwards, in the daily streaming of blood by sacrifices, showing the need of atonement, and the high priest, *Exod. xxviii. 36, 38*, making a sound, and bearing holiness to the Lord, making typical atonement, *Levit. xv. 22—26*; and whatever was necessary for Israel to observe arising from this revelation, *Exod. xxiv. 3, 7, 8, 12, 17*; *ch. xxiv. 4—7*; *Deut. iv. 3, 4, 9*; *ch. vi. 7, 20, 21, 25*; *ch. xxxi. 12, 13, 19*; *ch. xxxii. Josh. viii. 32, 33, 35*; *Neh. viii. 1—18*; *Ps. lxxviii. 5, 6*.

IV. Besides the instruction given by these judgments of his mouth, there was also instruction given by the judgments of his hand, as on Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, *Num. xvi. 1—45*; and on Pharaoh, especially at the Red Sea, *Exod. xiv. 27, 28*; wherein the Lord's care for his Church was eminently shown, *v. 31*, leading her to celebrate his praise with joyful triumph in a song, *ch. xv*. There were also other judgments threatened, *Levit. xxvi. 1—45*, *Deut. xxviii. 15—68*, *ch. xxix.* with the rehearsal of the law, *Deut. v. 1—21*; *ch. xvii. 2—7, 19*; *Levit. x. 2, 3, 11*; *Deut. xxiv. 11—16*; *Num. xv. 29—36*; *Deut. xvii. 13*; *ch. xix. 20*; all to keep from a disregard to His holy blessed being, and holy blessed will, and to lead to a due observation of his ordinances, to make effectual in the conveyance of eternal life, by bringing to a saving interest in him in his new-covenant character, and to make to walk well-pleasing before him; and the great teacher sent from God says, *John xviii. 8*, it is life eternal to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent; and, until the coming of Christ incarnate, the Church enjoyed not only revelation by promises, prophecies, and predictions, that he was to come, but she enjoyed what was effectual to many, *Ps. xix. 7—11*, for conversion, direction to holiness, warning against sin and sinners, *Psa. xvii. 4*; *Prov. viii. 1—27*; *Ps. i. 1, 2*; redoubled declaration of his holiness, *Ps. v. 4, 5*, and aversion to sin and sinners, *Psa. xi. 5—7*; and his delight in holiness, his holy majesty, and gracious new-covenant kindness sweetly exercised, *Ps. lxviii. 1—5*; care of the Church, *Ps. xli. Ps. xlviii. Ps. cxxi. Ps.*

cxiv; sweet revelation of forgiveness, Ps. cxix; of his tenderness, Ps. ciii. 13, 14; Ps. cxvi. 1—6, an encouragement to prayer from blessed experiences; commendation of the usefulness of the word, Ps. cxix. 1—176; encouragement to seek true wisdom, consisting in the fear of God, Job xxviii. 12—28; and encouragement to wait on ordinances in order to obtain an interest in Christ, in whom alone it is to be found, Prov. viii. 1—36. While Christ directed to search the Scriptures, as containing eternal life in the exhibition and offer thereof, John vi. 39; these Scriptures are those of the Old Testament, which testified of him in his undertaking, person, and reign, Ps. xlii. 27, 30; Ps. lxxii. 1—20; Ps. lxxxix. 4, 29, 36, 37; Ps. xcvi. Ps. xcvi. Ps. xcvi. Did strangers and bond servants prove the revelation for themselves, and were they concerned for their posterity enjoying this revelation? It contained command from God to inform posterity, Deut. vi. 7; Ps. lxxxvii. 4—7; and it afforded information of his design, Deut. iv. 9, 10; to bring the rest of the Gentiles to enjoy Divine means in all the fullness in which they will be ever enjoyed, Gen. xxii. 18; Ps. xlii. 27; Ps. lxxii. 17; Isaiah xxxv. 2; and, in the enjoyment of revelation not so full, Abraham and others looked for a city that had foundations, whose builder and maker was God.

V.—They enjoyed Sabbath which, in what belongs to it, is resolvable into the following particulars:—

1st, Sabbath in its author, God, in his then sweet and natural relation in that fair morning of time, who, Isaiah xlii. 13, attributes to himself existence before time was measured by day.

2d, The reason assigned for God's appointing the seventh day for a Sabbath, a day of rest to man, was because he had himself rested, Gen. ii. 3; and the term rest simply signifies cessation from motion, in reference even to inanimate things, and in reference to man, and to beasts; it signifies cessation from exercise in labour, in which rest there is also a revival from weariness and fatigue, which is also obtained in sleep, John xi. 13; but this effect of rest which is proper to creatures,



the Divine being, from his eternal self-existence and infinite self-sufficiency and independence, is utterly incapable of needing, or yet of receiving, Isaiah xl. 28. The Creator of the ends of the earth fainteth not, neither is weary. The rest which is ascribed to God is a rest of cessation from making any more, and a rest of delight, Exod. xxxi. 17, when on the sixth day he stood upon a survey of the product of his glorious excellencies according to his eternal design.

3d, Sabbath, in its institution, as to that wherein it consisted, which was in God's blessing it, or appointing it to be a blessing for its designed ends, and sanctifying it, or setting it apart for this purpose, in the continuation of this his design, Gen. ii. 3; for any labour in which man was to be employed during the other six days, and this appointment by God was not only enjoined by his authority, but was also grounded on his own conduct.

4th, Sabbath, in its institution and commencement, in observation as to the age of the world, the day of the week, and time of the day. As to the age of the world, it was immediately upon finishing creation, Gen. ii. 1; which was upon the sixth day from the beginning of creation, on which day man was made, ch. i. 31; upon the ending of which, on the approach of the seventh it was set apart, ch. ii. 3. As to the time of the day, it may be observed, that the time of light was the time for exercise, from the creation of the world; and that even then, while a part of time was necessary from ordinary avocations for relaxation and sleep, which seem to be necessary from the constitution of man, and pointed out by the withdrawment of light; so, to have been exercised during the dark, and to have taken rest during the light, would have been to have reversed the order established by God in giving light to let us see to work, as Christ says, John ix. 4; and to have begun the celebration of the display given in creation, when the darkness began to veil it from view, was not congruous either; consequently, the time of light was the time for the exercise of praise on Sabbath, and of any difference of time at the commencement of the exercise of Sabbath at first, or yet any change after-

wards, any change from the time of exercise, on other days, we have no inspired information. The origin of the custom of some, beginning Sabbath at twelve o'clock noon is without any foundation in Divine institution, and without both reason and assigned time in commencement. It is not proper to say, that the legal Sabbath began with darkness, and the New Testament Sabbath with light, because Sabbath, in its institution, was prior to both dispensations. The modern account of the Jews celebrating all their festivals from evening to evening is merely traditional. Though due care in timeous preparation was necessary, and included in the word "Remember," and though the Jews had a preparation day, yet that there was any command to commence the observation of the seventh day Sabbath on the preceding evening, or even any of the rest of the days that were to be kept as Sabbath, there is no word, except of the yearly atonement, Levit. xxiii. 32; nor is there any Scripture word of the Jews commencing the observation of Sabbath on the preceding day. Yea, history informs us, that some wished to be where the sun began sooner to rise, in order to begin the Sabbath with them who dwelled there, and to end the Sabbath with them who dwelled where the sun continued longer to shine. Though circumstances now often require many to forego the want of rest during the night, and sometimes allow it only during the day; yet, at first, and even still, the ordinary time for exercise to man is by God pointed out, by the ordinance of Heaven that gives light by day. From evening to evening ye shall celebrate your Sabbath, Levit. xxiii. 32, gave no order to commence the seventh day Sabbath as even, nor could evening, Levit. xxiii. 32, be drawn from Gen. i. 5, the evening and the morning were the first day; nor can it have any allusion to it, because from evening to evening, Levit. xxiii. 32, included the night that constituted or formed a part of the day of yearly atonement; whereas, in Gen. i. 5, the darkness he called night, and only the light he called day, and the darkness did not constitute or form any part of that day. The phraseology, Gen. i. 5, "day," respected only that part of the twenty-four hours that conveyed light, and not the

whole twenty-four, commencing at the preceding evening and running through midnight, and continuing until next evening; nor did the phraseology, the evening and the morning, Gen. i. 5, mean the decline of light commencing the day, running through midnight and continuing until next morning. The word, evening, is just the ending of a day, and the ending of the day to which it belonged; so that even at the first day it must have begun with morning and not with evening, for evening is the evening of a day which must have preceded that evening, Mark xiv. 30. The evening and the morning, Gen. i. 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31, that completed the day were the two periods, the evening the ending, and the morning the beginning of that day that went before its evening, these two including the intermediate space between, although the evening is mentioned first. The time while darkness continued, before the formation of things into order, Gen. i. 2, was not, yea could not have been a part of the first day, because day, in the sense of God's etymology, was that line measured out by the light. To have commenced Sabbath at a season from twelve o'clock noon, when the sun was in his meridian, we behoved to have continued until twelve o'clock noon, and to have continued through midnight darkness, or else to have gone a while to bed, and to have risen to keep Sabbath, and this would have been an interruption, and also a part of two days in the sense in which Gen. i. 5. calls a day that is the light, and to have dated the ending of one day, and the beginning of another when the sun was in his meridian, would not have been congruous.

The duration of Sabbath in what belonged to it as sequestered and sacred, was doubtless twenty-four hours, or a full literal day, though the active exercise was not during darkness.

That Sabbath was actually instituted and observed immediately upon finishing creation, is evident from the following considerations:—

1st, Sabbath, from the beginning, was necessary for the attainment of God's general end of creation, which was to receive a revenue of praise which the display in creation did demand; and, for intelligent creatures

enjoying that which, from their condition and exercise, necessarily flowed. The morning stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for joy, Job, xxxviii. 7. The Lord made all things for himself, Prov. xvi. 4. All thy works praise thee, O Lord, and thy saint bless thee, Ps. cxlv. 10. While all his works, even the inanimate and irrational parts of creation, ever since the disorder that entered by the fall, do passively praise him, bearing still something of that impression of his character that he stamped on them, his saints bless him by an active ascription of praise in the intelligent acknowledgment of him, v. 11, 12. Though this last is said of the end in its attainment, under the administration of the covenant of grace, yet the end of the covenant of grace is just to recover to that from which we fell, Isaiah xliii. 21; and that was just in its ultimate and supreme end, to glorify God, and the very entrance of sin, immediately after the creation, required Sabbath for this end of the covenant of grace.

When this grand noble end is not sweetly gained under the administration of the covenant of grace by persons becoming saints cordially to bless God, yet the end of the Divine glory does not, yea, cannot fail; God must be glorified in the exercise of his authority, holiness, justice, and faithfulness, for neglected, despised, abused grace, in creatures not being brought to glorify him. Prov. xvi. 4, the Lord made all things for himself, yea, the wicked for the day of evil; yet, in their original, he did not make them of that character, nor for that end, only his glory as the grand ultimate end cannot absolutely fail. Praise was the end of redemption, Eph. i. 6, 12. Praise was the exercise of Christ, Ps. xxii. 22—25; Ps. xl. 5; Heb. ii. 12; and of all saints while here, Ps. cxlv. 10; it is the designed and attained end of the deliverance from trouble in the hearing of prayer, Ps. xxx. 11, 12; Ps. lxxi. 23; Ps. ciii. 1; Ps. cv.; Ps. cxvi.; Ps. xxxiv. 1; 1 Sam. ii. 1—10; and praise is the exercise of angels and of the redeemed above, Rev. iv. 11; ch. v. 9—14.

2d, Because, upon the finishing of the system, which was in six days, there was all the ground for praise, and God as truly entitled upon the display given of

himself in the product of his excellencies in this then complete, perfect, stupendous frame.

3d, Man was then as completely fitted to yield it as he would have been afterwards, yea, in both the sexes made upon the sixth day, just as if his first and chief exercise had been to enjoy and praise on the seventh.

4th, While from creation the obtaining a revenue of praise was God's design and his due, and the adoption of things fitted to yield it, all these join in saying that it was necessary, and had been given from the beginning; confirmed by the corresponding exercise of Sabbath here, and hereafter in heaven, which is called a rest, Heb. iv. 9; but not a rest of inactivity; but of praise, Rev. iv. 11; ch. v. 9—14; the channel of this praise now being in a way of new-covenant grace, through the medium of the Mediator, under the influence of supernatural grace, with some consequential new notes of God, as a God of forgiveness, sweetly joined with holiness, justice, and love; some of which notes the redeemed have above angels, Rev. v. 9, 10. "Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood," which is to the Mediator himself; and while, from v. 9—14, was of redemption, ch. iv. 11, was of creation, by which exercise we are called to conclude, that, in pursuance of the ends of man enjoying all that his nature given him by God was fitted to enjoy, and his estate fitted to yield, and for God obtaining a revenue of praise from man as the only intelligent mouth in the whole lower creation, God blessed the first seventh day, Gen. ii. 3, setting it apart for the special time for man's enjoying and rendering that tribute in the ascription of blessedness to God, of which he was essentially possessed, and to which, by the display in creation, he was so justly entitled; and, so soon as man fell, Sabbath was necessary for the ends of the covenant of grace.

5th, From the manner in which Sabbath is mentioned along with God's resting, as if Sabbath had then been instituted, Gen. ii. 2, 3, by its being blessed and sanctified, or set apart. Also, from the expressed reason of God's appointing it, which was, because he himself had rested, ver. 3, as also, Exod. xx. 11; ch.

xxxi. 17, proposed as a model to man, as well as given by Divine authority, and ch. xvi. 31, is not "to morrow shall be," but "to morrow is" already established, and this resting of God was on the first seventh day; and, therefore, the observation of Sabbath by man behoved to have borne date with the same time, and not, Exod. xvi. 2500 years afterward.

6th, From the division of time into weeks of seven days by the Church, of which was Noah, Gen. 8, 10, who always waited until Sabbath was past, and Laban, ch. xix. 27, 28; and, perhaps, in allusion to Sabbath is, Job i. 6; yea, that all heathen nations divided their time into seven days, and reckoned the number seven to be sacred, history informs us, the original of which must have proceeded from one uniform common cause among all.

Had a seventh day not been observed from the beginning, Gen. ii. 3, how could men have known the day to commence the first Sabbath, 2500 years afterward? Exod. xvi; and of any information there is there none; and thus, while there is no mention of the observation of Sabbath for a while, there is as little of its institution, Exod. xvi, which, as I said, signifies its having been previously appointed by God, and known by the Church.

To say that Gen. ii. 3 was only intimating what took place long afterward, and not what actually took place, would be parallel with saying that, when God said, Gen. i. 3, let there be light, v. 6, let there be a firmament, v. 9, let the waters be gathered, v. 11, and v. 14, v. 20—22, v. 26—28, was only what was to take place at some distant after-period. Impious infidelity says, that Sabbath was not observed until Exod. xvi, which was about 2500 years after creation. But, for the ends of creation, and after the fall for the ends of the covenant of grace, Sabbath was as necessary as afterward; and the reason of its not being appointed immediately after the fall was, because it was previously instituted, and the cause of the silence about it until Exod. xvi. was, because of the very brief history of a long series of time until after the flood, at the calling of Abraham, Gen. xi. 31, ch. xii. 1, to

whom the promises were made, and in whose seed the Church was established. Yea, in his process of the history of creation in one unbroken chain, and to show that what God willed immediately came to pass, expressive of the facility with which the Divine will was carried into effect, as, Ps. xxxiii. 9; and, to show that mankind, including both sexes, was a part of the great whole creation produced within the six days, Moses says, Gen. i. 27, 28, not as what afterward took place; and the reason of his afterwards recording concerning them; ch. ii. 7—24, was, because they were chief; and every thing that then was good, very good, ch. i. 31, had its dependence upon their conduct to show how this world became disordered, ch. ii. 15—17; yet, though the creation of man is mentioned, ch. ii. 7, it was formerly done, and only here anew introduced, he being the only moral creature here below; and to show the Divine administration toward him, making the continuance of his good estate to depend upon obedience to a sovereign act of the Divine will, forbidding the eating of a tree appointed as a sign and turning hinge of man's estate, upon whose account all the after-change did proceed. Gen. i. gives account of all the different parts of creation in their respective order and time; ch. ii. gives account of the material of which, and of the manner in which, they were made; but all that is said in ch. ii. was done within the six days; ch. ii. 4, might have been introduced immediately after ch. i. 21; for v. 22, was the continuance and increase by propagation of creatures in the waters; ch. i. 24, was on the sixth day; ch. ii. 7, might have been introduced after ch. i. 25; v. 26, is expressive of the Divine will giving mankind its existence and dominion over the beasts of the earth, and to be male and female, v. 27, with God's own moral image, including intellectual and moral faculties, pure, spiritual, and immortal; v. 28, was of the Divine will for propagation and dominion over the fish of the sea; ch. ii. 7 was the material of which the body of man at first was made, and also the origin and manner of the production of the other constituent part of his nature, called a living soul, expressive of its substantial reality and nature, and the dependence that

the body has on it for animation, which two formed the whole person; v. 8, was in addition to ch. i. 29, 30; ch. ii. 10—17, was the condition of the human species in its male sex, making the good estate to depend upon obedience, v. 16, 17; and then the giving of names by the male, v. 19, 20; then v. 21, 22, the manner of the formation of the other sex hitherto unmade, but now brought forth, not immediately from nothing, nor from the dust, but from the male, that in his body, as to its material, was formed of the earth, that was brought out of nothing. While the institution of Sabbath included the time and exercise, the very name, which signifies rest, denotes it to have been from the beginning.

Every thing in nature, reason, and grace, remonstrates against the perversion of Gen. ii. 3; and, in unison, form themselves into a conclusive proof resolving themselves into Gen. ii. 3, for the date of Sabbath in its institution, and commencement of observation, all proceeding from Divine goodness in institution, and in communication in its effects in those who lived before Exod. xvi.; of whom were Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Heb. xi. 4—8, who had the testimony, v. 2, 5, that by its author was never given unto, nor yet deserved by, the avouchers of this emendation.

5th, The comprehensive end for the institution of Sabbath was to commemorate creation, which is assigned, Exod. xx. 11, ch. xxxi. 17, and included therein; it was for man having freedom from labour, and for having spiritual communion with God in the contemplation of him, leading to praise, and this, in subserviency to the comprehensive end, to be expressive of the good condition of things, especially of man, and of the Divine delight therein, Gen. i. 31; ch. ii. 3. The resting of man from labour commemorates God's resting from creation. The communion with God, and the praising of him, commemorate God's delight in creation. The supreme end was the glory of God, and the subordinate end was the good of man, which, by the wisdom and goodness of God, was adapted to be subservient to, that grand end. Yet, though



Sabbath in innocency was for man having communion with God, yet not for increasing holiness in man, for this was not possible. Adam will not be more holy in heaven after the resurrection than he was before the fall, only his body will be spiritualized as to its qualities, and suited to its place and exercise, but still a material body. Indeed, it is said, that Christ increased in knowledge, and in favour with God and man, Luke ii. 52; but this was only the progressive growth of his faculties from childhood, for he did not grow in holiness. Being introduced into a dispensation of new-covenant grace, Sabbath served the same ends, Exod. xxxi. 17; and, in addition to these ends, it was to convey grace to make meet for heaven, of which Sabbath was then a type as well as Canaan, Heb. iv. 4—9; and it was by means of Sabbath, along with other privileges, that Abel, Enoch, Noah, and Abraham, were so eminent, Heb. xi. 4—8. Sabbath, being special, was also a sign of the covenant-relation between God and his Church, Exod. xxxi. 17.

VI.—Sabbath in its observation, and the Divine care for it, shown in Divine conduct, and in after charges about it, including its perpetuity as to the same day of original institution, together with what went before, includes its name, sanctified subjects, signification, privilege, obligation, inducement, penalty, and duration. After the institution of Sabbath, thus it had been doubtless observed during the patriarchal ages, and was included among those commandments, statutes, and laws, to which the voice of God was given in his charge, which was obeyed by Abraham, Gen. xxvi. 5; and, however Israel had been prevented from the observation of Sabbath and other Divine institutions while in Egypt, and whatever need of exit for this purpose; yet, after escaping the power of Pharaoh, the observation of Sabbath, with other institutions, had been revived, especially at Elim, Exod. xv. 27, before they marched into the wilderness of Sin; and this may be concluded from Moses having the same care for obeying the voice of God as Abraham had, and also

from the regard the Lord showed for his Sabbath, in that, before one grain of manna was given, in view thereof he gave direction, Exod. xvi. 5, to Moses to deliver to Israel, to prepare on the sixth day of the week, a double quantity of manna for the Sabbath, which was on the morrow. Corresponding to the Lord's care by his voice, v. 5, was his conduct, v. 22, giving a double quantity of manna on the sixth day of the week; on which day, that quantity was gathered by the people, by which it appears that they had been apprised of the need of so doing, from the double quantity of manna being given, and also from that being on the sixth day of the week, and the day immediately before Sabbath, which they might have known from their observation of it at Elim. The rulers coming to Moses does not imply that they did not know that to-morrow was Sabbath, nor yet even their need of observing it; but it appears that they did not see the need of so strictly observing Sabbath as to gather and prepare, on the previous day, that miraculous food given in their wandering wilderness condition; but he, whose power and care for Israel was shown by giving that miraculous food, showed his authority and care about Sabbath in v. 5, in charge to Moses, which does not appear to have been delivered until the rulers came; and then, in v. 23, there is a reference to the notification, v. 5, together with full preparation. In v. 24 is the result of the decision of Moses, in consequence of the objection of the rulers, and Moses' order obeyed, which, in experience, proved the command in its origin to be Divine, by the manna preserving from corruption, and not being as v. 20, 21. Though they were disallowed to gather, or to prepare it on Sabbath, yet on it they were to eat, v. 25, 27, and a farther proof of the Lord's regard for Sabbath, and of confirmation of the charge given to Moses, which he had delivered to them, and of the consequent duty of Israel to observe it, was, his withholding manna on that day, as was experienced by the unbelieving and disobedient, who were reprov'd by the Lord, v. 28, and blamed as refusing to keep his commandments and laws. In v. 29, "see, for that" was to obviate the reality of God's disallowing gathering on Sabbath, by

an appeal to the conduct of providence in giving two days provision on the sixth, while there had been also a withholding of it on the seventh, as a confirmation of the Divine institution, and of the Lord's regard for it, and with his institution of observing the seventh day the people complied, v. 30.

The want of the mention of Sabbath for a long time, even from Gen. ii. 2, 3, until Exod. xvi. 5, 22—29, is no conclusive argument against the original institution, nor even against the observation thereof, which had just been in proportion to the regard for other Divine institutions, and to circumstances of opportunity. Yea, Exod. xvi. 23, mentions it not as a thing new or unknown to the people, but as already instituted, though the officers appear not to have apprehended the need of gathering manna the day before Sabbath until they came to Moses, v. 22, 23, because the charge, v. 4, 5, was until then undelivered to Israel. In Gen. ii. 22—24, we are informed of marriage in its original institution in innocence. From the account of the skins, ch. iii. 21, we are ready to conclude that these were of beasts that had been offered in sacrifice; and of offerings we are informed, ch. iv. 3, 4, 5, which, doubtless, had been Divinely instituted. The beasts being classed into clean and unclean, ch. vii. 2—8, seems to have proceeded from Divine institution respecting sacrifices, and also, Exod. iii. 18; ch. v. 3; ch. viii. 27; ch. x. 9, 25. In Gen. ix. 5, 6, is the first account of the institution of magistratical authority which we have in record, yet we are sure that before this rule was appointed and exercised; and, perhaps, for fear of subjection to punishment thereby, was Cain's fear, ch. iv. 14, and Lamech, v. 24. During a long lapse of time, until Gen. xvii. 10—14, we have very little account of the ordinances that the Church then enjoyed, and yet we know that, in the carrying into effect the Divine design, Gen. iii. 15, means were enjoyed effectual in many, Heb. xi. 2—40; Gen. xxvi. 5. Yea, we have no account of the church observing even Sabbath during the time of the Judges, which was about 450 years; also from the time of the settlement of Israel in Canaan, Joshua v. 7—9, we have no account of

circumcision until that of John Baptist, Luke i. 59; nevertheless, we are sure that both Sabbath and circumcision had been observed during these respective periods, for both were signs; that of the Sabbath I will have occasion to observe in the progress, and that of circumcision I have already noticed; on that subject, Gen. xvii. 11, was a Divinely-appointed token or sign of God's covenant with Abraham, and not less with his posterity in succession; and the distinguishing badge is by Divine writing applied, Col. iii. 11, where Israel are called the circumcision in distinction from, and in opposition to, Gentiles, who are called the uncircumcision, which plainly implies the observation of circumcision. Yea, Enoch prophesied, Jude v. 14; Noah preached, 2 Peter ii. 5; Moses said, I fear and quake, Heb. xii. 21. Yet of any of these things no mention was made. Yea, Exod. v. 3, no word of what kind, also 2 Tim. iii. 8.

From Sinai Mount, as recorded, Exod. xx. 8, in the word "Remember," there is a respect to it as being already enjoined, which also implies a necessary regard to every previous thing conducive thereunto, as due preparation on its approach in order to its right observation when it arrived; and to this preparation there is a command, v. 9, to have all that labour performed in six days which our condition requires, in order not to encroach on the seventh, for the Sabbath, respecting which his new-covenant character, "the Lord thy God," is recognised, v. 10, and his authority interposed to its observation, in which time, master, and children, and servants, male and female, specially expressed, cattle, nor stranger, was to work. In v. 11, there is the original design of its institution, which was to commemorate the work of creation, and the Lord's conduct in resting is presented to our consideration for our example, together with the privilege of enjoying it, and the exercise thereon required. In ch. xxiii. 12, there is a command for the work to be performed in six days, and cessation from working on the seventh, that the beasts of labour might share in that cessation of rest, and that the blessing thereby vouchsafed might, by the son of the handmaid and stranger, be enjoyed. In ch. xxxi.

13; Moses is directed to speak to the children of Israel to keep Sabbath in succession, which was instituted by God, and was a sign of his owning them to be his, as well as a part of the special privilege which in his doing so they enjoyed. In v. 14, the Divine sovereignty and authority in instituting the Sabbath and constituting it a sign, is interposed, with the word "therefore," to Israel to be by them recognised; and the nature of the day being holy, which was by his appointment as to the frame and exercise, in which during it they were to be employed, and the breach of the command threatened with death, without exception or exemption. The execution of the first clause cannot be meant to be by man, and the last by the immediate hand of God; because the transgression by "work" was capable of being known by man, when, as in the word "defileth," this might have been in other ways than by work, and in ways which might elude the discernment of man, and which he therefore was incompetent to be required to punish, and which was competent only to God himself. The command and threatening here seem to respect chiefly the Sabbath externally, and the word "defileth," in the first clause, "and doeth any work," in the second, seem to be synonymous, and the latter explanatory of the former in that wherein the not keeping of the Sabbath consisted; and "cut off from among his people," in the last clause, seems to be the same as "put to death" in the first, and as expressed in the close of v. 15, and in ch. xxxv. 2; and this death seems to be by the hand of man, by immediate after-command from God, Num. xv. 32—36, in the manner of the death,—and thus by death the man was cut off from among his people, or from among the Church, and Sabbath ceased from being a sign to him of God's owning him. In Exod. xxxi. 15, "six days *may* work be done" is a confirmation of what I said was the meaning of Exod. xxi. 9, which was not so much a command to work, though from the command of God, and the condition and circumstances in which we respectively are placed, it is necessary and duty, but it was a command that what was necessary to be done should be done in six days, in order to avoid working on the

seventh. In Exod. xxxi. 16, the command is repeated to be obeyed by Israel in succession, as given by the authority of God, in connexion with other institutions enjoined by him and enjoyed by them, upon their regard to the Sabbath, which, as v. 13, was to be a sign and is repeated, v. 17, for our example, with the reason given of the Lord having made heaven and earth in six days, and ceased from making on the seventh, and on the view being satisfied with complacential delight. In Exod. xxxiv. 21, the command is again repeated to the observation of the Sabbath, by not working in earing time and in harvest, the two seasons of the greatest need. In ch. xxxv. 2, the command is repeated, to the breach of which the penalty of death executed by them on the guilty, without exception, was annexed.

In Levit. xix. 3, there is an injunction to the keeping of Sabbaths, including the seventh day Sabbath and other Divinely-appointed days whereon work was disallowed; and, in v. 30, the command is repeated, together with the frame and exercise which, in his sanctuary, were so justly required; and reminding Israel from whom the command proceeded, by the avouching of his glorious majesty, "I am the Lord." In ch. xxiii. 3, work is required to be done in six days, in order to the keeping of the seventh day Sabbath, with the reminding Israel of the Author of Sabbath, and its extent with reference to them. In ch. xxvi. 2, the same is repeated. In the covenant at Horeb, Deut. v. 12—14, the command is renewed, and an additional inducement to obedience, v. 15, by the reminding Israel of the favour in bringing them out of Egypt, not only from hard labour and cruel usage, but to the enjoyment of liberty to keep Sabbath. In 2 Kings xi. 5, 7, 9, there is mention of some persons as to what they ordinarily did on Sabbath; but what they were there commanded was not to be done on Sabbath. In 1 Chron. ix. 32, there is mention of Sabbath as to what on it the Kohathites did in preparing shew-bread. In ch. xxiii. 31, 2 Chron. viii. 13, ch. xxxi. 3, the word Sabbaths includes the other days of rest. In Neh. xiii. 15, 16, there is complaint against Judah and Tyre. From v. 17—21, there

is the care of Nehemiah for Sabbath, and the means he used for preventing its profanation by remonstrating, v. 17, 18, with the nobles of Judah, and the inclination of people to transgress; and a reference to the trespass of predecessors that entailed evil, and children blamed for increasing it, and the effect of the means used in preventing trespass, v. 20, 21. In Isaiah lvi. 4, 6, a promise to the keeping of Sabbath, extending to eunuchs and gentiles. In ch. lviii. 13, there is mention of that wherein the keeping of Sabbath acceptably consisted, and to it a promise, v. 14. In Jerem. xvii. 19—22, the prophet is directed to speak to the kings of Judah, and to Judah and Jerusalem to hallow Sabbath, to which their fathers, by the Lord, were commanded; but which fathers were disobedient, obstinate, and deaf, to counsel, v. 23. Yet mercy follows the children with encouragement to obedience, v. 24, 25, by promise of royal dignity, and of stability to the city, and offerings accepted, v. 26; but, if not, there was to be Divine anger in fire not to be quenched, v. 27.

Sabbath unchanged as to the day. To say that Sabbath, Exod. xvi. 22, was changed a day sooner, and that the fifteenth of the second month, on which Israel marched, was not Sabbath, and that they had manna six days successively after marching, will not at all comport; because, though Sabbath had been immediately before the day on which they had marched, yet the day on which they had marched and the six of manna made seven independent of Sabbath; and, if there had been any change, this would have been to the eighth day, which would have been the day following that on which it had been formerly observed, and thus Sabbath would have been thrown a day farther back, instead of being one sooner. True, it does not appear to have been Sabbath on which Israel marched, Exod. xvi. 1; because, though to get freedom of Sabbath, and to serve God, is a spiritual end, which might have made it lawful to leave Egypt on Sabbath; yet, after being at Elim, there was no need to march on Sabbath; yea, after marching, there could not have been six days of manna, because that would have turned

Sabbath to be on the eighth day. That which makes a wrong computation of time, reckoning that day on which manna fell in double abundance, v. 22, to be the 21st, and Sabbath the 22d, is from understanding the word sixth in that verse to be the sixth of manna, whereas it is the sixth of the week, the day before the seventh, on which Sabbath was to be observed, according to v. 5; so that the Jewish Sabbath could not have been changed to the day before the patriarchal. Of the day of the week on which Israel marched, we are not informed, but only of the day of the month, the fifteenth, which was a month and a day after eating the first passover, Exod. xii. 6. It is likely that Sabbath was immediately past before Israel marched, Exod. xvi. 1; and then one day marching and five of manna made six, and thereby made the following day to be Sabbath in the ordinary course.

It is no argument, as a proof of the Sabbath being changed about the coming of Israel out of Egypt, and that the Sabbath was to be kept in commemoration thereof, that the original reason, Gen. ii. 2, 3, of God's resting is left out, Deut. v. 15; and the bringing out of Egypt is mentioned in these words, "Therefore," &c. because in Exod. xx. 11, creation and God's resting are mentioned, after coming out of Egypt; and, had Israel's deliverance been the reason, we have ground to believe that it would then have been mentioned, Exod. xx. 11; in which chapter, v. 2, the bringing out of Egypt is mentioned to the worshipping of Him exclusively, and yet the deliverance from Egypt cannot be said to be the formal reason of having him alone, which arises from what he is in himself, and the relation in which he stands to us; and this deliverance from Egypt did not form a formal ground for Sabbath, upon whatsoever day Divine sovereignty might see meet to appoint it; for the Sabbath was appointed from the beginning, Gen. ii. 3, and reached all. The reason of the deliverance from Egypt being mentioned, Deut. v. 15; together with the word "therefore," was given not as a reason to keep a new day for Sabbath, but because the Lord delivered Israel from thence, that they might have time to serve him which they had not be-



fore; and this deliverance is here mentioned as an inducement to that to which they otherwise were bound. In the intermediate steps of that process of complicated judgments on the Egyptians, one of God's ends in the deliverance of Israel was, that they might have time to serve him, *Exod. iii. 18; ch. v. 1; ch. viii. 1, 20; ch. ix. 1, 13; ch. x. 3*, which Pharaoh only partially promised, *v. 24*. From this, what ground have we to believe that Pharaoh allowed to keep Sabbath, or yet other Divine institutions? Though heathens divided time into seven days, and though some heathens worshipped on the seventh, yet that was only idolatry, and not the worship of the true God. To him by the chief ruler in Egypt there was no regard, *Exod. v. 2*. That Israel was allowed a seventh day from humanity to them, or yet from a view of relaxation being useful to the health, to make them more beneficial in their labour, does not appear, *Exod. ii. 23*; yea, not from a view of pecuniary profit to Pharaoh, but from wanton cruelty for the very purpose of severity to punish Israel's request of time, they were not allowed straw, but were sent to gather stubble, *ch. v. 6—13*, by the command of Pharaoh put into speedy execution, and Israel's requesting time is by Pharaoh given as the reason, *v. 17*. To his own evident loss will a man in various ways ill-use his horse, which in the West Indies towards slaves is the case. Indeed, if the Israelites' usage and condition in Egypt had been as good as that they enjoyed Sabbath, how could their deliverance have been such a blessing to them, in the obtaining of which deliverance the Lord did so much? or how would a new day for Sabbath have been appointed to commemorate the deliverance?

It did not require the change of a day for Sabbath, in order to its being a sign between God and Israel, *Exod. xxxi. 13, 17*, because Sabbath was special, being introduced into the administration of the covenant of grace; and, indeed, *v. 17* refers to the original seventh day; *Ezek. xx. 20*, does not express, nor yet even imply, a change of Sabbath from the original day; yea, the other days of rest are here implied in

the plural, Sabbaths, as also in *Exod. xxxi. 13*. Though, in process of time, Sabbath became a sign to Israel exclusively, that was because others had left the Church and God, in that gracious relation in which he stands to her. Yet it could not have been a sign to Israel alone, so as to be limited to the duration of their state and polity; for Sabbath still continues by the authority and favour of God, and to those who thereby own him it still is a sign of their relation in their acknowledgment of him. While the work of creation, and God's resting on the seventh day, and his appointment of it, *Gen. ii. 2, 3*, was given as the reason for Israel keeping Sabbath, *Exod. xx. 11*; the same reason is given for Sabbath being a sign between the Lord and Israel. *Exod. xxxi. 17*.

In the annals of the History of the Church, there is no record in the account of Israel of old, and of God's conduct towards them, of the day for Sabbath being changed. To perpetuate his care and grace in their deliverance, they were to instruct posterity, *Exod. xiii. 8, 14*; *ch. xvi. 32*; *Deut. vi. 20—24*, including other institutions, and to say that this was the reason; but we have no account, at the time of Israel's coming out of Egypt, that the Sabbath was changed, nor is there any charge to instruct posterity thereof; whereby, upon examination, it appears to be according to the statement of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, in their very excellent Compend: "That, from the creation of the world until the resurrection of Christ, God appointed the seventh day of the week to be the weekly Sabbath; and from the resurrection of Christ, the first day of the week, to the end of the world," will also appear in the sequel and progress of this subject. The change of the month Abib, *Exod. xii. 2*, to begin the year did not change the day of the week.

VII. Sabbath, in its names: 1st,—“the seventh day,” *Gen. ii. 3*, which expresses its date from the beginning and its frequency, as *Exod. xvi. 26*; *ch. xx. 11*; *ch. xxiii. 12*; *ch. xxxiv. 21*; *Levit. xxiii. 3*; *Deut. v. 14. 2d*, “Sabbath,” as *Exod. xvi. 23, 25, 26, 29*; *ch. xx. 8—11*; *ch. xxxi. 14—16*; *Deut. v. 12, 14, 15*;

2 Kings xi. 5, 7, 9; 1 Chron. ix. 32; Neh. xiii. 15—21; Isaiah lvi. 2, 6; ch. lviii. 13; Jerem. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27; Matth. xii. 1, 8, 10—12; ch. xxviii. 1; Mark vi. 2; ch. xv. 42; ch. xvi. 1; Luke vi. 6, 9; ch. xiii. 10, 14—16; ch. xxiii. 56; John v. 9, 10, 16, 18; ch. vii. 22, 23; ch. xix. 31, 42. While, in Exod. xvi. 26, “the seventh day” expresses the frequency of the day, “the Sabbath,” which is the same day, signifies rest, and is expressed, v. 23, with which the conduct of Israel corresponded, v. 30, and which rest is required, ch. xxiii. 12, ch. xxxi. 15, ch. xxxiv. 21; Levit. xxiii. 3. 3d, By way of eminence and distinction, the seventh day Sabbath, when spoken of by itself, is in the singular called “the Sabbath,” Exod. xvi. 23, 25, 29; ch. xx. 8, 10, 11; ch. xxxi. 15, 16; Deut. v. 12, 14, 15; Neh. xiii. 15—21, &c. The plural, “Sabbaths,” Levit. xix. 30; ch. xxvi. 2, &c. include the whole of the other days of rest. 4th, Sometimes the epithet of “holy” is annexed, to signify that, while it is a rest, it is of a holy kind for holy exercise and ends, Exod. xvi. 23; and “unto the Lord” signifies that this exercise should be to the Lord, in obedience to his will, and for the glory of his name, as also, v. 25, and Exod. xx. 10. This holy exercise is also expressed, ch. xxxi. 14, holy unto you, and in v. 15, the Lord claims it. In Isaiah lviii. 13, “My holy day” is, with respect to its Author, claiming it for his appropriate purpose. 5th, In Rev. i. 10, it is called the “Lord’s day,” that is, the day in which the Lord Christ arose, which he consecrated, and, perhaps, on which he afterwards ascended. With reference to it, after the ending of that dispensation, at which it was changed from the seventh to the first of the week, this day gets the name of Sabbath from Christ, Matth. xxiv. 20, which not only showed that it was to continue, but that Sabbath was to be its name. Sunday, though of common use, is improper, through want of knowledge or attention to its origin, which was among heathens in their idolatrous worshipping the sun, 2 Kings xxiii. 5; Ezek. viii. 16.

VIII. Sabbath in its recognised subjects. By the ori-

ginal institution, there was on all men a claim that still continues indissoluble, Gen. ii. 3. By the new-covenant revelation of the original institution, there was a claim on all to whom this revelation did reach, even during the ante-diluvian world, before the Church was erected in the seed of Abraham, who are claimed in the character of Israel, and to whom this revelation is directed, Exod. xvi. 5; ch. xx. 8—11; ch. xxxi. 13—17; Levit. xxiii. 2, 3, reaching strangers as to obedience, Exod. xx. 10; Deut. v. 14, and all within the gates, that was, all within Israel's territory and jurisdiction, and as to the rest of cessation the beasts of labour did share, Exod. xxiii. 12; Deut. v. 14; and to the observation of Sabbath all in their several places of authority and of subjection were bound to regard and obey. The subjects of Sabbath, in a special way, still are all to whom this revelation does reach. The observation of Sabbath was recognised by the British Legislature, and is incorporated in the British Constitution.

IX. Sabbath in its sanctification or exercise.—1st, A complete cessation from manual labour, worldly avocations, and exercise of body and mind, except of a spiritual kind, or else necessarily for a spiritual end, unless what comes under the names of necessity and mercy in the ordinary support of the life of man and of beast, and what, in some urgent emergencies, may occur that could not have been prevented nor delayed. The rest of cessation is expressed, Exod. xvi. 23, ch. xx. 11, ch. xxiii. 12, ch. xxxi. 15, ch. xxxiv. 21; Deut. v. 14. At first in innocency a complete cessation was required from dressing the garden. The original institution in innocency grounded on God's rest of cessation, Gen. ii. 2, 3, which, as to creating, was complete, was a model and rule to us for cessation from manual labour; and God's conduct in supporting the finished system was a precedent to us to use necessary means for the support of ourselves, Exod. xvi. 25; yea, of the irrational creation, Matth. xii. 1—12; Mark ii. 3—28; Luke xiii. 11—16; John v. 6—9; ch. ix. 14; Luke vi. 1; Mark iii. 1—4; 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2. Now, since

the fall, in addition to the former, there needs to be a forbearing from unsuitable thoughts and words as well as actions, Isaiah lviii. 13; much of which thoughts, words, and proneness to the world, proceed from the fall in the vitiated nature of man thereby, to which he had no inclination before the fall. What was necessary for man's life was necessary in innocency for the ends of creation, and what is necessary for man's life now is necessary for the ends of redemption in a way of grace, in a suitableness to our fallen condition, in subserviency to the accomplishment of God's gracious design, in recovering from the ruins of the fall, which occasions some things that were not necessary before, respecting both body and soul. Whatever is for pure support, or immediately for the life of man or of beast, Exod. xvi. 25, is necessary and allowable; but what would contribute to man's lucrative gain is not, nor even what may be previously done or performed. The gathering of manna, Exod. xvi. 29, or yet the preparing of it, which preparation is necessary, in earing and seed time and harvest, Exod. xxxiv. 21; gathering sticks, Num. xv. 32—36; carrying burdens, Neh. xiii. 15—19; Jerem. xvii. 19—24; travelling, except necessarily to ordinances, 2 Kings iv. 23; kindling of fire for the work of rearing the tabernacle, Ex. xxxv. 3, are all disallowed on the seventh-part of time allotted to Divine worship by Divine authority in institution, prior to any part of a dispensation of grace, which was for the communication of grace, to enable man to keep Sabbath, by restoring him to the favour and image of God. Besides travelling to Divine ordinance, there was, on Sabbath, exercise connected with the sacrifices as ordinances under that dispensation. Jericho was encompassed seven successive days, one of which behoved to have been on Sabbath, and, perhaps the last of the seven, on which day Israel encompassed it seven times; but this was only one instance, and for a spiritual end, and to the honour of Sabbath being thus signalized by immediate command in undertaking, and Divine favour in enterprise. All the miracles wrought by Christ on Sabbath were for a spiritual end; that recorded, John v. 10, was not for a worldly end; for, while the miracle was

wrought on Sabbath, the miracle was to the honour and establishing of it, and the working the miracle on the man's body was a display of that power that could heal souls; and for this purpose was that power so exerted on the man's body; and his carrying the bed was to evince the reality of that miracle, and thereby to evince the Divine character of Christ, and to confirm the faith of men in him, Mark ii. 10. Also, in some of Christ's miracles, there was only a word, Luke xiii. 12. The Jews in pretence to the original, and careless Christians in lieu thereof, keep no Sabbath. Formerly the British laws disallowed loosing of ships, driving of cattle, &c. in this recognising the Divine authority and favour in the institution of Sabbath.

2d, In the observation of all Divine ordinances of worship as means of grace for the glory of God, and for communicating grace to the souls of men. I formerly noticed, that God's sanctifying the seventh day for Sabbath, Gen. ii. 3, was his setting it apart; and our sanctifying it is just our employing it to the purposes appointed, in rest from labour and in the exercise of spiritual duties. Though worship in an evangelical manner had doubtless commenced at the first supernatural revelation of grace, Gen. iii. 15; yet, as to that wherein ordinances of Divine worship precisely consisted, we are not informed. It is likely that the skins of which the coats, Gen. iii. 21, were made, were the skins of beasts that had been slain in sacrifice. Cain and Abel also presented offerings, ch. iv. 3—5. Except the longevity of the antediluvians, and the almost complete universal destruction of the world's inhabitants, with the manner and the means of preserving a few, together with the ground of that destruction, and of the preservation of the few, we have little information of the Church, until her erection in the seed of Abraham, Gen. xvii. 1—27; after which, in ch. xxvi. 5, we read of commandments, statutes, and laws. After the delivery of the law, Exod. xx. 3—17, there was a system of ordinances appointed, which, in part, was to consist in sacrifices, ver. 24. In process of time, there was a solemn assembly, Levit. xxiii. 3, on Sabbath, blowing the trumpets for assembling the

people, Num. x. 10 ; offering sacrifices, Num. xxviii. 9, in addition to what was on ordinary days, ver. 10, the prophet reading and expounding the law, or revealed will of God, 2 Kings ii. 3 ; Acts xv. 21 ; corresponding to which was Luke xiii. 10. To public ordinances there is reference, Levit. xix. 30 ; ch. xxvi. 2. Though the Sabbath was made for man, Mark ii. 27, it was when man was in innocence, and the Sabbath is still continued, but neither in innocence nor now for him to spend it, but for real good ; and, though the Sabbath was made for man, yet both he and it were made for the glorifying of God, and under a new-covenant dispensation of grace it is continued, and man is required to improve it for this end ; and though, in one respect, it is for him, to be useful to his body in rest from labour, yet not for sensual diversion from communion with God, which communion is diverted more by sensual diversion than by bodily labour ; and under a dispensation of grace, Sabbath is for obtaining grace in the beginning, and in the increase thereof in the use of all appointed means, to be waited upon during the whole day, to which encouragement is given in the promise which to waiting in general is annexed, Prov. viii. 34, 35. Secret reading, meditation, and prayer, family-worship, catechising of families by the parents, the preaching of the word, baptism, and the supper, are ordinances fully suited unto Sabbath. And since, of old, they had double sacrifices on Sabbath, by analogy, there should be an abounding in religious duties on Sabbath, which is what both the nature of the day and our condition as ruined creatures require. No part of Sabbath is to be spent in idle visits, nor in amusements, though there may be visits and conversation when expedient of a spiritual kind. The character of Christ was, he always went about doing good, Acts x. 38 ; and thus every expedient opportunity for it was by him embraced ; and, in pursuance thereof, he went into a Pharisee's house, yet, of this on Sabbath we only read of one time, Luke vii. 36. Visiting persons in distress for a spiritual end may be very fitly done on Sabbath ; and physicians for the body may do this when the case will not defer,

and this is comprehended in the support which I formerly mentioned; and as I noticed on John v. 8, this was the immediate end and the fore-mentioned the more ultimate in the Divine day.

3d, The frame recognising the Lord's authority and grace in the institution of Sabbath with reverence and delight. Levit. xix. 30, ch. xxvi. 2. The frame required to the right sanctifying of Sabbath is expressed, Isaiah lviii. 13, by calling it a delight, the holy of the Lord and honourable. This reverential delight is also expressed, Ps. xxvii. 4; Ps. xlii. 4. Confinement at labour during the six days will be no pretext for recreation on the seventh, which the Lord claims to himself; and, besides this, the more laborious and busy through the rest of the week, the less time for the worship of God, and for spiritual and eternal things, and then so much the more need to spend the whole Sabbath in spiritual things. All scientific learning, even the learning to read, except in cases where there is not opportunity otherwise as in some places of England and of Ireland. It is not the learning the letters, but the meaning, especially in its influence on the mind, that is suitable to Sabbath. Burials are improper, unless when they cannot be avoided, which is seldom the case in this temperate climate. Carnal recreations are still more unfavourable to the right frame for Sabbath than even manual labour. Both labour and recreation are strictly contrary to the Divine will, and inimical to the welfare of men, and much there are of conversation, exercise, and frame, unprofitable to even the health of the body, and unbecoming a rational, accountable, short-lived creature, naturally under condemnation, Eph. ii. 3. Being conducive to the keeping holy of Sabbath, there should be timeous laying aside work on Saturday night, and applying to reading and prayer in view of Sabbath, implied in Exod. xx. 8, in the word "Remember." There should be also an early rising on its morning; and during the whole day, even in the intervals of public worship, there should be reading, prayer, and meditation on God in the manifestation of himself, and of this in the first creation state, but its original immediate end frus-



trated, and only to be gained by Christ. On the goodness in the first, and on the infinite greatness of God and his eternal duration; but this manifestation should be like Sabbath, turned to subserve the dispensation of grace; and we should be stirred up to see our need of an interest in Christ, and to seek after this, and to think on his undertaking, person, fitness by appointment and by personal qualification, and performance of engagement; and of the room in his purpose, promise, and covenant, for the reception of men here in Christ; of the fulness in him for the regeneration, justification, and sanctification, of men to prepare them for glory; and the room there in his house above—all to be obtained in the use of means appointed by himself for that end, and of encouragement to wait.

X. Sabbath in its signification, Exod. xxxi. 13, 17. A sign of the covenant-relation with the Church, which was formerly noticed; and it, by God's constitution, has such a connexion with other things, and being of Divine authority, and the special time for religious duties, that the profanation of it has a most demoralizing effect on individuals, families, and nations. The many promises and threatenings respecting Sabbath have, by experience, been realized by the Church collectively and individually, that, according to their care about Sabbath, in view of its approach on the preceding evening, and early up on its morning, and during the day, so it has fared with them in things spiritual and temporal during the week. Criminals, by public justice, have often lamented the breach of Sabbath as the first step that introduced and involved them to their unhappy end. Than a tender care and spiritual frame on Sabbath there is not a more discriminating mark of regard to God.

XI. Sabbath in its privilege. Before the fall, they had it as a special time for the more uninterrupted enjoyment of God in the praising of him, to which the display of himself in all things around did so sweetly invite, and for which the harp was so well attuned. After the fall the Church had it, along with other insti-

tutions, from God, in his supernatural gracious character, not only giving freedom in one day of seven from wearied toil of body in a world under the curse, but as the special time for his glorifying himself, in the communication of the fruits of his love and grace, by means of the institution of his appointment; instructing, convincing, regenerating, converting, sanctifying, and comforting, in the first fruits, an earnest and joyful hope of an eternal, uninterrupted, completely-blessed Sabbath above, *Exod. xxiii. 12, ch. xxxi. 13, 14*. That it was a privilege, is also implied in Israel's being threatened with the want of it, along with the other days of rest, because of their not observing these appointed days of rest, *Levit. xxvi. 34, 35*, including the seventh-day Sabbath. The very warnings and revelation of the penalty were a privilege to prevent sin, and to induce to a regard to obedience, in the use of appointed means, by which alone there was any encouragement to hope for the gracious promised good being bestowed by God, or obtained by men, *Levit. xix. 3, 30, ch. xxiii. 3, ch. xxvi. 2*.

**XII. Sabbath in its obligation, proceeding from Divine authority, and unquestionably entitled to obedience,** *Gen. ii. 3; Exod. xvi. 4, 5, 23; ch. xx. 8—11; ch. xxxi. 13; Deut. v. 12; Levit. xix. 30; ch. xxvi. 2*. "I am the Lord;" and obligation from the goodness of God, and the good thereby to be enjoyed by ourselves and by others; obligation from the example of God, in the care he has showed for it, *Exod. xvi. 5, 22—29*.

**XIII. Sabbath in its inducement.** Before the fall, there was God in his then sweet natural relation. Now, his new-covenant relation, and what in that relation he did for Sabbath, bringing from Egypt to enjoy it, and his design in its constitution; his care about it, *Exod. xvi. 28, 29; Num. xv. 35; and for Israel, Exod. xx. 2, 8—11; Deut. v. 15; of which relation between Israel and Him, Sabbath by Him was an appointed sign, Exod. xxxi. 13, 17; Isaiah lviii. 14; Jer. xvii. 25*. In *Isaiah lviii. 14*, there is, by Him who cannot lie, a

promise to that people owned to be the descendants of Jacob, and in that promise things spiritual and temporal are contained; and this inducement to servants was very great, taking such notice of them, *Exod. xx. 10*; *Deut. v. 14*, and giving promise to obedience, *Isaiah lvi. 1—7*. The taking of Abraham into covenant did not shut out other Gentiles. There is also inducement from the suitable blessings bestowed on and by some experienced, *Ps. lxxiii. 17*, which was likely on Sabbath, according to *Levit. xix. 30*, *ch. xxvi. 2*. If persons did actually realize good in their own experience, that would inwardly, sweetly, and powerfully induce; and, to those who have not an interest in Christ, what inducement should this be to stir up to seek to obtain.

**XIV.** Sabbath in its penalty, in threatening, *Exod. xxxi. 14, 15*, *ch. xxxv. 2*, and execution in the manner, by the instrumentality of man, by immediate direction, sought and given, *Num. xv. 32—36*. An individual and often a whole body were threatened. When Sabbath was universally defiled, and the Divine institution as to obedience and penalty neglected, they were threatened with fire from the Lord, *Jer. xvii. 27*; expressive of the fierceness of Divine anger, which threatening was afterwards accomplished, by which the Lord showed his authority, holiness, verity, dominion, and rule, even to those who enjoyed so much, and in doing of which he asserted his character, "I am the Lord." In *Ezek. xx. 12—26*; much is threatened and executed for the protection of the seventh-day Sabbath, including the other days of rest. The penalty may, when executed by the Lord, be, in various ways, in things spiritual and temporal; and, of judgments, the breach of Sabbath alway bears a great share in the cause.

**XV.** Sabbath, in its continuance under the New-Testament dispensation, and the reality and propriety of the change from the seventh day to the first, together with its duration, as to nature, obligation, and penalty, which will appear from the following; while, in its

names, subjects, sanctification, signification, privilege, and inducement, even under the New Testament, it has already been alluded unto.

1st, Sabbath in itself was instituted, Gen. ii. 3, and thus its authenticity gave it the honour of priority to whatever was afterwards in the Divine administration sovereignly appointed by the occasion of the fall.

2d, Along with the rest of the commands from Sinai, Exod. xx. 8—11, there was a command to the keeping of Sabbath, denoting it to be from the same fountain of authority, and intended by God to be a part of his moral law, for which important occasion the two days' preparation to hear on the third, ch. xix. 10, intimated the importance of what was to take place. The people washing, v. 14, intimated the holiness of him with whom they were to deal. Their being situated at the nether part of the Mount, v. 17, was expressive of their subjection, and that they might the better hear the thunders and lightnings, v. 16, the smoking and quaking of the Mount, v. 18, and the long-continued increasingly-loud terrific sound of the trumpet, v. 16, 19, with the honourable attendance of his holy ones. Ps. lxxviii. 17, was expressive of the majesty of him who herein was supreme, and from whom the whole did proceed. The charge not to touch the mount, v. 12, intimated the sacredness of the place, by the presence of the Divine majesty of him who was the Son, Acts vii. 37, who occupied it as the place for giving his law. The charge not to gaze forbade curiosity, v. 21. The disallowing even the priests to come up, v. 24, showed their distance from him, and his inflexible impartiality, and that their junior years and sacred office could not obtain favour nor acceptance for their persons, who, on this occasion, did not act in office, and were on a level with the rest; while Moses, and even Aaron, employed as vicegerents and deputy-commissioners, were admitted to the top of the Mount; and the whole expressive of the solemnity of the transaction, and to awaken that reverential attention that the whole did demand. The commands being spoken with audible voice, ch. xx. 1—17, intimated the supreme authority of him from whom they did proceed,

and the indissoluble obligation which they did impose, and was for the purpose of being heard and understood by all Israel, to whom they were spoken, denoting the special obligation on them, arising from special favour, and to induce to obedience to God in his new-covenant character; v. 2, "I am the Lord thy God," in the observation of his whole revealed will, v. 20, while the law as coming from him in his absolute character would have made them despair of obedience being acceptable to him, and than this transaction, of the day of final judgment there never was a more striking emblem, 1 Cor. xv. 52.

3d, Along with the rest of the commands, the command respecting Sabbath was twice written on tables of stone, which was intimated, Exod. xxiv. 12, and first written by the finger of God, and given to Moses, ch. xxxi. 18, and by Moses brought, ch. xxxii. 15, called the tables of the testimony, and said to be written on both sides, and which writing was said to be God's, v. 16, yea, graven, denoting perpetuity; but, being broken, v. 19, were renewed, ch. xxxiv. 1—29, and rehearsed, Deut. iv. 13, ch. v. 6—22, ch. ix. 10, ch. x. 1, 2; with the commands the same in number and in order as before, all denoting his special care and determined design to make his law, containing these ten commands, to be a part of his testimony to his Church.

4th, Among the rest of the commands, the Sabbath by its classification, according to its nature, belongs to, and was placed in the first table; the Sabbath being the special time for the worship of God, which is spiritual in its object, and is so required in its principle, and this showed the spiritual nature of the fourth command and its relation to the former three.

5th, Among the rest of the commands in order, that of the Sabbath was situated in the midst, Exod. xx. 8—11; Deut. v. 12—15; denoting its connexion with the former three and the latter six; and although, by its nature, it was specially connected with the former three, yet its breach is an inlet to the breaking of the following six, being in the constitution of God appointed as a sign, the disregarding of which makes him to leave

creatures to themselves, whereby they become a prey to sin in the gratification of their lusts, in the breach, of all the rest.

6th, By itself, it was prefaced with a solemn introduction, *Exod. xx. 8*, "Remember," with a retrospect to its original institution, *Gen. ii. 3*; and, besides its being delivered with the rest, *Exod. xx. 8—11*, *Deut. v. 12—15*, and with the word "Remember," and renewed with the rest on tables of stone, its observation is repeatedly enjoined, *Exod. xvi. 5*, *22—27*, *ch. xxxi. 13—18*, *ch. xxxiv. 21*, *ch. xxxv. 2, 3, &c.*; all saying that God remembers it, and requires us to do the same.

7th, By itself it was delivered positively as well as negatively with the rest, in which positive double manner none of the rest were ever delivered, though they were repeated in being renewed, and though the negative manner of the rest imply also their positive; and though the positive of the Sabbath respected the doing of what was necessary in six days, in order to avoid working in the seventh, *Exod. xx. 9*, and to keep it holy, *v. 8*; yet the full manner herein, and the subjects concerned, so minutely expressed, *v. 10*, and the Lord's reason and original institution for a blessed purpose, *v. 11*, now introduced into a dispensation of grace, shows God's care about the observation of the Sabbath, and for the purpose of inducement thereunto, mentions the freedom from Egyptian bondage, *Deut. v. 15*; and thus the positive, and the negative, and the deliverance from Egypt, and "Remember," are of the same import, and for the same end.

8th, Along with the rest of the commands, the fourth respecting Sabbath was put into the ark, *Exod. xxv. 16, 21*; *ch. xl. 20*; *Deut. xxxi. 26*; and herein, as well as in its origin, being from the same fountain of authority, its continuance with the rest of the commands was signified. While the law, delivered with majesty and terror, showed sinners their inability to fulfil its requirement, and was intended, in connexion with other things, to direct to Christ, in whom it found its fulfilment by satisfaction; the ark was anointed with that, *Exod. xxx. 26, 36*, which typified Christ in his new-covenant perfume, *ch. xl. 19—21*; and in Christ, the Antitype of the ark, there will be an eternal

Sabbath enjoyed above. However, the putting of the ten commands into the ark did not give them obligation nor preservation, for where is the ark now? Of all the charges given, and interposition made respecting the Sabbath of old, there is a record, with some addition, in the New Testament, with peculiar respect to it in its charge by him who was its Lord, all transmitted to us, composing a part of his canon to the Church.

9th, The continuation of Sabbath, under the New-Testament dispensation, was foretold under the Old by prediction, Ps. cxviii. 24, and, perhaps, typically by promise, Ezek. xliii. 27, under the name of the eighth day, that was from the creation of the world, Isaiah lvi. 6—8. After the Gentiles are gathered in and shall have joined the Church, Sabbath will continue.

10th, The Sabbath being delivered with the rest of the commands, Exod. xx. 3—17, not only showed it to be from the same fountain of authority, but as composing a part of that law, the commandments of which are ten, Deut. x. 4; which commands do not admit of diminution in number, nor yet in part, James ii. 8, 10, 11, all composing that law which Christ says he came not to destroy, Matth. v. 17, which was not the ceremonial law, for it he did abolish; and, in the preceding and subsequent parts of the chapter, he is speaking of moral duties, and not ceremonial institutes, and of this moral law under the name of the royal law, James ii. 8, the breach is disallowed, v. 10, and that this is the moral law is evident, v. 7, 8, 11.

11th, The Sabbath was observed by Christ, Mark i. 21, ch. vi. 2, ch. ix. 2, Luke xiii. 10, on the Jewish seventh-day Sabbath, it not being then altered, and to show his approbation of the seventh-day Sabbath.

12th, Being spoken of by him forty years distant showed that Sabbath was to continue, Matth. xxiv. 20.

13th, Its continuance and its change from the seventh day of the week to the first, were shown by Christ. On the first day of the week Christ arose in the end of the Jewish Sabbath, or when it was over, towards the dawning of the first day, Matth. xxviii. 1—6; Mark xvi. 1—6;

Luke xxiv. 1—6; John xx. 1, 6, 7; which event was attended with honourable attendance of angels, at the empty grave, who gave information of the resurrection of Christ to his seekers, Matth. xxviii. 7; Mark xvi. 7; Luke xxiv. 23; John xx. 12; who met with him, Matth. xxviii. 9; and worshipped him, Mark xvi. 9; Luke xxiv. 15—32; John xx. 14—17. He met with them, and vested them with ministerial authority, and the promise of miraculous gifts, Matth. xxviii. 16—20; Mark xvi. 14—18; Luke xxiv. 33—50; John xx. 19—23. And, while at Sinai Israel waited for the law, at Jerusalem the disciples waited for the Spirit, John xx. 21—23; Acts i. 1—4. Probably John xx. 20—23, was the time when Christ appointed that day week, when Thomas also came with the rest, v. 26. The change was, doubtless, made by Christ, who was Lord of the Sabbath; and this, immediately upon his resurrection, was among the things he established, and in which he instructed his apostles, during his forty days' stay after his resurrection, Acts i. 2, 3. Perhaps Christ's ascension, Mark xvi. 19, Luke xxiv. 51, was on Sabbath, and in allusion thereunto is Ps. cxviii. 18—24, of his sufferings, v. 5—17, then, v. 18, his hope, and, v. 19, his reception into heaven, as, Ps. xxiv. 7—10; Ps. lxviii. 18; Ps. cxviii. 18, 24, the time.

14th, The outpouring of the Spirit was on the first of the week, or pentecost, Acts ii. 1, the fiftieth after the second day of unleavened bread, but not the fiftieth after the passover, John xix. 31, so that on the fiftieth after the Jewish was the day: and on this day the disciples met with one accord, which seems to express assembling upon this day being previously appointed; and on that day Christ poured out the Spirit, whereon by Peter three thousand were converted. Christ was crucified on the Jewish preparation-day for Sabbath, John xix. 31, which was Friday, the morning was the first of the fiftieth, for the feast of harvest or pentecost, that fell that year on the first of the week. But pentecost could never have been the fiftieth after the passover.

15th, Paul stayed until the first of the week, Acts xx. 7.



16th, As of old collections were appointed on the seventh day in the synagogue, Luke xxi. 1; so collections were appointed to be made on the first day, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

17th, The first-day Sabbath, under the name of the Lord's Day, was signally honoured by the vision made unto John, and the frame in which he was by the Holy Spirit, of which John was so very largely possessed, Rev. i. 10. The very name, Lord's Day, was expressive of its name being from Christ, its author as to the first of the week.

18th, For a long time the authority of the first-day Sabbath was not opposed by any.

19th, The propriety of the change of the Sabbath from the seventh of the week to the first. Christ suffered on our Friday evening, the sixth day, and the day of the week on which man was created. Christ lay that sixth and the seventh, and rose early on the eighth, and in the finishing of his work making it to run parallel with creation and to terminate, making way for its celebration on the eighth, the first day of the week; and thus he, as well as in creation, in concert with the other two, finished his work in obedience to the Divine will, as to precept, did, on the first month from creation, the seventh by change, Exod. xii. 2, the sixth day of the week, finish redemption as to suffering and all activity, and rest on the evening of the sixth and during the seventh, and rise on the eighth, consecrating it; and herein, on the same day of the week, and on the same month, though not on the same day of the month on which man was created, was he redeemed, the Redeemer entering into his rest, enjoying it during what ran parallel with the time man was in his state of trial. Oh! how ready for the work! Prov. viii. 23. After two days and on the third, as mentioned, Hosea vi. 2, if so that man fell on the ninth day from the beginning of creation, the third after his creation and of his trial, and the third after redemption as to purchase, did Christ rise; and the changing of the day was necessary, in order to show the completeness of the work of redemption as to purchase, which is a work in which Divine glory illustri-

ously shines, and in which we are interested, and which has a claim for being honoured by us as well as by Christ, and to which the old creation is made subservient; and the first-day Sabbath shows Christ to be Lord of the Sabbath, and celebrates creation and redemption.

**XVI.** The duration of Sabbath without diminution nature, obligation, and privilege.

The duration of Sabbath, for ever, *Exod. xxxi. 17; Jer. xvii. 25*; or, while the Church in the world continues. Though the Jews do not now enjoy Sabbath on the appointed day, that is because of their rejection of the Messiah in the New-Testament dispensation, yet Sabbath still continues to be enjoyed by the Church; and, had the Jews acceded to the Divine will, Sabbath had been to them a sign longer than during their polity. While the duration of Sabbath is for ever, the change from the seventh to the first day of the week, and some ordinances, is all the change that Sabbath in this world will undergo. Freedom from ceremonies does not give freedom from moral exercise, but makes it more spiritual, and is thereby a superadded obligation; and there is no less need for glorifying God on it, nor less need for receiving good from him, according to the tenor of the covenant of grace. While Sabbath in duration continues, it is the same, without diminution, in nature, privilege, and obligation, for all the ends of institution, for the glory of God and for the good of men. The same regard to it is due, and, as a part of its privilege, the penalty continues which is necessary to secure against the abuse of Sabbath, to the dishonour of God and to the hurt of men; unto which abuse we see it not less liable by the change of the dispensation, which long experience has mournfully verified. How could the command to Israel of old have been more strict, or yet the penalty more severe than now, by him that willeth not the death of any man without a cause. Unless the inclination of man were altered, and he made less liable to transgress, which we see is not the case, the more spiritual the exercise the more natural aversion to this in man until by grace renewed.

From the beginning Sabbath disallowed work, and

Sabbath was a command prior to any of the rest that were delivered at Sinai, among which it was delivered, being introduced among them in a dispensation of grace, as the special time for the worshipping of God, who, in the first, claims it to himself alone, and, in the second, forbids it to be given to any other, or to be given even to himself through the medium of any likeness, Deut. iv. 12, 15; and, in the third, shows the respect due to his name, so that neither the disallowing of work, nor yet the penalty annexed could, as a thing either criminal or yet judicial, have belonged exclusively to the Mosaic dispensation. Liberty for work or yet for amusement on Sabbath is as much disallowed as ever, since rest was from the beginning, Gen. ii. and enjoined, Exod. xvi. 5, 23, 29, ch. xx. 10, 11, and disobedience threatened, ch. xxxi. 14, 15, ch. xxxv. 2, and executed, Num. xv. 32—36, and the command to the keeping of Sabbath not ceremonial, the same penalty to the breach of that command must consequently be in force, since by the Divine Legislator it has never been repealed. However, it is only where the word is enjoyed, and the Divine will thereby made known respecting Sabbath, that disobedience thereunto requires the penalty to be executed; and, though there be an inward sanctification of Sabbath required in the frame of heart, and in the exercise of the several duties belonging to Sabbath, a part, yea much of which should be personal, in reading, meditation, and frequent prayer, the want of which is sin against God, and loss to the person; yet it is not for this, but only for the external defiling of Sabbath that the penalty by man should be executed; and it is not every thing that might be blameable, even externally, that would require or admit the penalty of death; and even when Sabbath profanation becomes common by a community, who, through custom, have lost sight of sin, the execution of the penalty immediately would be very unwarrantable. In all cases, mildness, kindness, and moderation, should characterise the exercise of all authority in parents, masters, elders, magistrates, and officers, in army and navy; and the contrary in the manner, or yet in the frame of mind, in the exercise, is

sinful and inhuman, and the result is the reverse of the kind design of all authority, which is to preserve order, and thus disheartens, irritates, hardens, and sometimes renders desperate. Mild and moderate means are first to be used for preventing and reclaiming; Neh. ch. xiii. 15—21, remonstrated and threatened; and it is only when contempt to this is shown that the violation is to be termed "presumptuous." God does not appoint the penalty for the designed destruction of men, but, as I said, as a privilege in mercy, to prevent sin, and thereby to prevent suffering, which unavoidably is the consequence when sin gets vent; and that this is his design is shown by the whole of the Divine administration, by threatening and long forbearance, partial execution of lesser judgments at first, until transgression be come to a great height that necessarily entails greater in the end, which both the threatening and the partial execution and forbearance were intended to prevent, while his constant language is, "Oh! do not that which I hate!"

While the allowance of the breach of Sabbath in an individual with impunity makes him to look lightly on the breach, thereby, his conduct passing with impunity, others are influenced, until God in judgment come, Deut. xxix. 18; and this sparing of one obstinate sinner entails sin, guilt, and judgment on thousands. Oh! the neglect of Divine institutions! Stupidity and cruelty in the extreme! And, while the care of Sabbath devolves on all in their several stations, parents, masters, elders, magistrates, &c. when by these Sabbath is allowed to be broken, yea, broken by these themselves, God is deprived of the glory due to his name, and the community of much good, and judgment by himself is the end.

Monthly.—The feast of new moons, Num. x. 10, ch. xxviii. 11—15.

1st, Its author, Num. x. 1—10, by him who owns himself in that relation, I am the Lord your God; ch. xxviii. 1, the Lord, whose being and authority are to be recognised; v. 11, unto the Lord, and, v. 13, said to be a sweet savour.

2d, The manner of its institution, by charge to Moses, Num. x. 1—10, ch. xxviii. 1—11, after the mention of some and before the mention of others, ch. xxviii, ch. xxix; but not mentioned, Levit. xxiii.

3d, Its time of institution was while in the way to Canaan.

4th, The place was the wilderness of Sinai.

5th, The time of its observation was to be in the beginning of the month, Num. xxviii. 11.

6th, The time, on one occasion, was one day, Num. x. 10, in the day.

7th, Its frequency, every month, Num. xxviii. 14, Isaiah lxvi 23, from one new moon to another.

8th, The time and place of its first observation was after arriving at Canaan.

9th, The manner of its observation. 1st, Presenting offerings, which, in their matter, kind, and number, are mentioned, Num. xxviii. 11—15. The number of victims being eleven, with their meat-offerings and drink-offerings, besides the daily offerings. 2d, Blowing the two silver trumpets, Num. x. 10, which blowing was also common to sacrifices, and all solemn days and convocations, Levit. xxiii. 2, Num. x. 7, 8. A complete cessation from labour was not required, yet there had been other religious exercises, even public, Isaiah lxvi. 23, Ezek. xlv. 1, Amos viii. 5.

10th, Its subjects, the children of Israel, Num. xxviii. 2. That was just the Church, of whom bond-servants were a part, being introduced by circumcision, as I formerly noticed, and will have occasion on the passover.

11th, Its signification and end, a mark of God's authority and favour in appointing it, and of Israel's relation and obedience in observing it, hence said to be a sweet savour to the Lord, Num. xxviii. 13; and the sacrifices all pointed out people's guilt and the need of atonement, and directed to look to the coming of the Messiah, by whom atonement was to be made, and in him God smelled a sweet savour of rest.

12th, Its duration, which, though not expressed, was to continue during that dispensation, along with other institutions, amongst which this was embodied; and of

several of which institutions it was said they should be a statute for ever.

The passover, Exod. xii. 1—14, 21—27, in which is comprehended,

1st, Its author, Exod. xii. 1, the Lord, which is expressive of its authority, but it is in his gracious character, and from the first the obligation, and from the last the privilege.

2d, The manner of its institution by charge to Moses and Aaron, v. 1, annexing some directions, v. 43, respecting its subjects.

3d, The place where it was instituted, v. 1. The land of Egypt, wherein Israel were then in bondage.

4th, The time of the Divine institution being delivered in charge to Moses and Aaron, as to the year, was 2513, which made it 1491, B.C.

Time as to the month was Abib, which had hitherto been the seventh of the year; but in which month, at that time, there was an important memorial in its being constituted the first of the year, Exod. xii. 2, which formerly had been Tisri, which then was turned to be the seventh; and, while, previous to the change of this month, it had the name Abib, it continued to have that name after its change into the first of the year, Exod. xiii. 4, Deut. xvi. 1, which signified an earing month, and had a reference to the barley being then green in the ear, Exod. ix. 31; and this same month was also afterwards called Nisan, Neh. ii. 1, Est. iii. 7, perhaps signifying flight with reference to Israel's leaving Egypt, which was some days after the change of this month.

Time as to the day of the month is not expressed; but it was before the tenth day of the month, if not upon it though expressed, v. 3, "on the tenth day of this month," which, indeed, might have been on it; and yet so expressed, because the tenth was to be the day in perpetual future observation.

Time as to a memorable era in the history of the Church was within a few days of the termination of 430 years, which ended the morrow after the passover was celebrated, Exod. xii. 40, 41, 42, 51; ch. xiii. 3, which morrow was the 15th of the month. Here they

of the Church are called the children of Israel, and are thus recognized to be the descendants of Jacob, whose name was changed into Israel, Gen. xxxii. 28, and with whom the covenant was last made or confirmed, Gen. xxviii. 13—15; ch. xxxv. 10—12; Ps. cv. 10; but the 430 years are dated from the call of Abraham, Gen. xii. 1, as to what was done, ch. xi. 31, and exactly ended upon the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt on the morrow after observing the pass-over, Exod. xii. 22, 29, 30, after midnight, v. 41, 42, v. 30, 31; Deut. xvi. 1; and during this space of time there were four hundred years of severe affliction, according to that of which Abraham's darkness and horror were a prelude, Gen. xv. 12, and predicted, v. 13, and referred unto, Acts vii. 6, in Egypt, from whence the Lord brought Israel, by judging the Egyptians, Gen. xv. 14, Acts vii. 7, by the various judgments inflicted on the Egyptians, the last of which was at the Red Sea, Exod. xiv. 27, 28; and this space of time reaches forward and includes many who were in the Church before her then-present members were born, all included in the appellation "children of Israel," Exod. xii. 40, which shows the oneness of the Church.

5th, The paschal victim as to its kind, Exod. xii. 5, of the sheep or of the goats, Deut. xvi. 2, of the flock and of the herd. Of the flock, comprehended sheep and goats. Of the herd, was only for burnt-offerings that were to be offered on the rest of the days of the occasion, of which Deut. xvi. 1—8 speaks, and these days were of unleavened bread, 2 Chron. xxxv. 7—9, 17, bullocks, small cattle, and oxen, according to v. 8. The lamb was typical of Christ, and of the human race, Gen. iii. 15; Heb. ii. 14, 16.

6th, Its sex, Exod. xii. 5, a male, as were all the burnt-offerings, Levit. i. 3, 10; which offerings were wholly consumed on the altar in offering to the Lord, though peace-offerings, that were to be eaten by the people, might have been female, ch. iii. 6. Malachi i. 14, requires a male;—also typical of Christ.

7th, In its age. Of the first year, Exod. xii. 3—5, that was, the year then current, hence called a lamb, which term was descriptive of its age and not of its

kind, restricted to the young of the sheep; for, whether it was of sheep or of goats, it was called a lamb, because it was young, but not under the eighth day of its age, because the law of firstlings, *Exod. xii. 30*, and of burnt-offerings, *Levit. xii. 27*, did not admit of it younger;—typical of Christ, in the flower and prime of his age.

8th, Its condition, without blemish, *Exod. xii. 5*; *Deut. xvii. 1*, disallows a blemish in bullocks or in sheep sacrificed to the Lord; and what was reckoned a blemish is mentioned, *Levit. xii. 20—24*, and said to be an abomination, *Deut. xvii. 1*, charged, *Malachi i. 13*, and threatened, *v. 14*;—typical of Christ, *Heb. vii. 26*.

9th, Its quantity, in condescension and equity suited to the condition of Israel, *Exod. xii. 3*, a lamb for an house; but, *v. 4*, if the family were too few to be able to eat the lamb, or the head of the family not able to bear the expense of the whole lamb, then he was to join his nearest neighbour, and each head, in proportion to their respective families, was to bear a share in the price of the lamb.

10th, The time of setting it apart, *Exod. xii. 3*, on the tenth day of the month, which was four days previous to its being slain.

11th, The time of its being slain, *Exod. xii. 6*, on the fourteenth day of the month, at even; *Deut. xvi. 4*; “which thou sacrificedst the first day at even,” respecting the passover, which was a part of what was observed on that occasion, and was the first day thereof; *v. 6*, thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, at the going down of the sun; but whether this going down of the sun was after his meridian altitude, in his decline, or at sun-set, is not said; most likely it was at sun-set;—Christ was sacrificed at even.

12th, The place where it was to be slain, *Exod. xii. 3, 4, 6*; at first in their respective private houses, *v. 7*. At this time Israel had no national altar. After arriving at Canaan, they were disallowed, *Deut. xii. 5*, *ch. xvi. 5*, any where, except in that place which the Lord should choose to put his name, *v. 6, 11, 15, 16*; which place was not at first declared, but seems to have been



first at Mizpeh, then at Shiloh, and at last at Jerusalem, v. 16; because in these places were deposited the ark, and the mercy-seat overshadowed with the cloud of glory, by which was signified his name or the manifestation of the special tokens of his presence.

13th, By whom it was to be slain. At first, by the whole of Israel, *Exod. xii. 6*; each family in its head for that family, v. 3; or along with that family its neighbouring family, v. 4; *Levit. i. 5*. Afterwards it was by the Levites, *2 Chron. xxx. 17*, for those of the congregation who were not clean; and, *ch. xxxv. 11*, by the Levites.

14th, The sprinkling of its blood, which was not to be on the threshold of the door, but upon the lintel and side posts of the doors of their respective houses, *Exod. xii. 7*, wherein the lamb was eaten; and this sprinkling at first was by a bunch of hyssop dipped in the bason, v. 22, which had received the blood while it had been shed, and to this hyssop there seems to be reference, *Ps. li. 7*. After the first time, we have no word of the blood being sprinkled on the doors of their respective houses; and, indeed, the place where the blood afterwards was shed did not admit of this, because the lamb was slain in the temple or tabernacle before the altar, which was sprinkled with the blood. The sprinkling, *2 Chron. xxx. 16*, *ch. xxxv. 11*, by the priests was according to *Levit. i. 5*, *ch. iii. 2, 8, 13*.

15th, The signification of the sprinkling of the blood of the lamb, which was a pledge of God's coming to inflict judgment on Egypt, in his judicial administration, asserting his being and dominion, v. 12, I am the Lord, and as v. 29, 30; but to Israel it was a divinely-appointed visible token and pledge of their safety, as the bow in the cloud was to Noah, *Gen. ix. 12—17*; from whence that ordinance has the name passover, v. 21, and the Lord's passover, v. 11, he having both appointed it and given it its name; and the Lord in this revelation of himself, in his majesty and authority, met with corresponding frame in Moses, who observed this ordinance in obedience to God, and in confidence in him, *Heb. xi. 28*; and the sprinkling of this blood was typical of the application of the blood of Christ, 1

Peter i. 2, Heb. xii. 24. But, since the first time Israel was no more in that condition, therefore this signification it never more had, nor yet had the ordinance the sign in the sprinkling of the blood.

16th, The whole matter of the ordinance of the passover, Exod. xii. 8, the flesh of the lamb, unleavened bread, and bitter herbs, but of the name of these herbs there is no word. The bread was of meal, such as was common, and that perhaps of wheat, as Levit. i. 12. Of the herd, Deut. xvi. 2, respected the feast of unleavened bread, as also 2 Chron. xxxv. 7—9, where it is evident that the feast of unleavened bread is included, v. 17, expressed, and to its preparation was v. 14, basted until night, and v. 16, the same day, whereas the passover was prepared on the preceding night.

17th, The condition of the lamb by preparation, Exod. xii. 8; not eaten raw, as the heathen did their sacrifices, but roasted with fire, not rodden with water, v. 9; not a bone of it broken, neither before being roasted nor afterward before being eaten, v. 46, Num. ix. 12; Exod. xii. 9, his head with the legs and the purtenances thereof.

18th, What of the lamb was to be eaten, v. 9, even its whole, in all its eatable parts; and, if any remained uneaten, it was not to be left until morning, v. 10, Exod. xxxiv. 25, but burned, Num. ix. 12, Deut. xvi. 4. Similar was the institution respecting all sacrifices of thanksgiving, Levit. xxii. 30. However, the burning of what remained of the paschal lamb was not upon the altar in offering to God, but to prevent it from being on the first observation in Egypt abused by the Egyptians, or yet on after observation from being applied to common use.

19th, The attitude and frame in which the ordinance of the passover was to be eaten, Exod. xii. 11, with loins girded, shoes on feet, and staff in hand, and in haste, in a posture of readiness to march, but not on a journey, Num. ix. 13. The need of the loins being girded was because their garments were long, 2 Kings iv. 29; John xiii. 4, to which there is reference, Heb. xii. 1, "Lay aside every weight." It appears that this standing posture in eating the passover was a circum-

stance attending its first observation in a suitableness to the condition of Israel for readiness to march, but that Christ afterwards ate it sitting.

20th, The time and manner of Moses delivering the charge to Israel; by calling the elders, v. 21, ordering to take a lamb, according to v. 3, and to kill it as v. 6, and to apply its blood as v. 7; which time of calling the elders, and delivering the charges behoved to have been upon the tenth day of the month, if not before it, in order to the providing of the lamb, v. 3. Probably it was immediately after receiving the charge from God, v. 1—14, the institution of the feast of unleavened bread only intervening, v. 15—20, after which Moses delivers the charge, v. 21—27.

21st, The time of the observation of the passover as to the month, day, and time of the day, Exod. xii. 6—10, mentioned in the institution, but not recorded as being mentioned by Moses, v. 21—27; yet it was on the fourteenth day of the first month, Levit. xxiii. 5, renewed on the following year, and commanded to be at the same time, Num. ix. 1—5, and on the same day of the following month, v. 11, and ch. xxviii. 16; at even, and the month by name is mentioned, Deut. xvi. 1; and the time, v. 6, at even, at the going down of the sun, and the month is signified by reason of going out of Egypt, and the day is alluded unto, v. 4, the first day, and also the time thereof, at even, Josh. v. 10, 2 Chron. xxxv. 17, Ezra vi. 19, 22. At first it was celebrated during the night, while the stroke fell on the Egyptians, Exod. xii. 27—29. After which Israel were requested to depart, and afterwards it was during night, John xiii. 21, Matth. xxvi. 20, Mark xiv. 17, or towards evening. Israel left not Egypt till morning, Exod. xii. 22, 41, although v. 42, and Deut. xvi. 1, say, by night, yet it would seem that they waited, Exod. xii. 22, till early next morning, after the stroke on the Egyptians was past, v. 29.

22d, The place of its observation at first was in Egypt, where it was instituted, and in the respective houses where the lamb was killed, Exod. xii. 1, 7, 22, 46, out of which houses none of the lamb was allowed to be carried. The place of its observation afterwards

was in the wilderness of Sinai, Num. ix. 1; seeing Israel's stay was during the stay of the cloud, v. 17—22, they had opportunity to keep this ordinance. Afterwards it was where the Lord in sovereignty did choose to put his name, which was formerly noticed as to the place where the lamb was to be slain, Exod. xxiii. 11, 17, ch. xxxiv. 22, 23, Deut. xii. 5, ch. xiii. 14, ch. xvi. 2, 5, 6, 16; as signified, Exod. xii. 25; while the ark and mercy-seat overshadowed were the symbols of his presence in the manifestation of himself. There were first at Mizpeh, then at Shiloh, and at last at Jerusalem.

23d, The subjects participant in this ordinance. At first all Israel, Exod. xii. 3—14, all circumcised males were allowed, v. 44—49. At what age is not said, but when Christ was twelve he went to the passover, Luke ii. 42. Afterwards, when it was celebrated in the place where the Lord did choose to put his name, his enactment was, all males, Exod. xxxiv. 23, Deut. xvi. 16; but it does not appear that this excluded females, when by them found expedient to perform the tedious journey, for Hannah went with Elkanah, 1 Sam. i. 3, 7; and afterwards Mary went with Joseph, Luke ii. 41. To make a distinction between the Church and heathen nations, and to preserve all her ordinances in their order, were the uncircumcised prohibited, but upon their being circumcised they did partake; Exod. xii. 43, 45, 48, requires the males of Israel and of strangers to be circumcised, in order to partaking of the passover, Gen. xvii. 10, every man-child; yea, by coming in at the door by circumcision, they did partake, v. 12, 13, Exod. xii. 44—48. In Num. ix. 1—5, the observation of the passover is enjoined and obeyed, yea, the ceremonially unclean were not allowed to neglect, but to observe it on the evening of the same day of the immediately following month, v. 10, 11; while the man that was clean was not allowed to neglect, nor to forbear, v. 13. By observing it according to order, a stranger was to eat, and the same order was to be observed, and the same privilege enjoyed by a stranger and one born on the land, v. 14, yea, them

who were born in his house, and them who were bought with his money, was Abraham commanded to bring into the Church, by circumcision, in order to enjoy all the privileges that, by way of favour, on her was bestowed, and this command was given through Abraham to the Church in perpetual succession, Gen. xvii. 7—10, 12; every male in your generations. Exod. xii. 33, Levit. vi. 25, 29, ch. xxii. 10, was not the passover.

24th, The object of worship, Exod. xii. 14, the Lord, Num. ix. 10; Exod. xii. 27, the Lord the object of worship, as well as its author.

25th, The inducement to its observation, Exod. xii. 25—27, containing a charge to inform inquiring posterity of the meaning of the ordinance, and of the Divine authority in its institution, and of the Divine favour thereby vouchsafed in the amplification of the first passover, v. 12, 13, 29, 30; and in deliverance from Egypt, preservation at the Red Sea, and, afterwards, guidance through the wilderness, and possession of Canaan, which showed the Lord's owning the Church, in the fulfilment of the promise originally made to Abraham, Gen. xii. 3, 7. Ch. xv. 5, 18—21, refers to the seed or posterity that then constituted the one Church memorable, for this one people, in their after generations, especially in their observation of the passover, which was appointed immediately upon the eve of their deliverance, to discern the Lord's favour and faithfulness leading to own this, to praise and to obey, Exod. xii. 42. In their observation of it, there was also promised protection during their absence, Exod. xxxiv. 24, and in no one instance do we read of the promise failing. The observation of the passover was both a privilege and a duty, and was enjoined on all Israel, Exod. xii. 24—27, 49, who, in their predecessors, enjoyed it in time of danger, upon which account successors ought ever afterwards to observe it with gratitude and joy, having predecessors' name, and privilege transmitted unto them; and Ps. cvii. 1—7, Ps. cxv. they have for a note of praise of the Lord's conduct, according to Exod. xii. 12, 29; together with his bestowing on them the promised land of Canaan,

with the celebration of his memorial to endure to all generations.

26th, The penalty, and its reason. The penalty was, to be cut off and deprived of membership with the Church, Exod. xii. 19, which is here extended to a stranger and one born in the land; the subjects for the ordinance, Num. ix. 13, cut off from his people, and the reason is assigned, because he hath not brought the offering of the Lord, Exod. xxiii. 15, empty, and the blame is charged on the man, "shall bear his sin;" whereas, in circumcision, though the neglect cut off, yet the blame was not charged on the person, and his being cut off, implies his being in some respect in the Church, or belonging to her, and that he loved to have been by parentage and natural descent.

27th, The duration of the observation of the ordinance, as to privilege, obligation, inducement, and penalty on Israel, was for ever, or during that dispensation, Exod. xii. 14, where we have the end of the observation of the day and transaction for a memorial, with the observation thereof in duration, to be transmitted to posterity as a statute of Divine institution, v. 24, 26, 27. It, in connexion with the feast of unleavened bread, was one of three anniversaries, Exod. xxiii. 14—17, ch. xxxiv. 23, Deut. xvi. 16. Herein there was a perpetuation of the ordinance, by the name of a feast unto the Lord, Exod. xii. 14; while that which belonged unto it, at first in a suitableness to Israel's condition, ceased, first, in the person by whom the lamb was slain, secondly, the place where, thirdly, in the place of sprinkling the blood, and, fourthly, in the posture of eating.

28th, The typical signification of the whole ordinance. While, by circumcision, there was admission to a participation of all that the Church enjoyed of the revelation of God in his design of grace, in its gradual developement, by promises, prophecies, types, shadows, and distant predictions concerning the person and way whereby salvation was to be wrought out, so this of the passover was typical of Christ, 1 Cor. v. 7, and especially of the lamb, John i. 29, in its appointment in kind, Gen. iii. 15, Ps. lxxxix. 19, Heb.

14-16, of Christ in the assumption, not of the angelic but of the human nature, and what was common to Jew and Gentile, since both were to be benefited by him. In its properties of sex, Isaiah ix. 6, of age; freedom from blemish; the time of its being set apart; slain; the place; by whom; and for whom; with the manner, by the shedding of its blood, and in the sprinkling thereof; and its signification in appointment by God, and sense of danger by Israel, and their obedience to the Divine command, and faith in the Divine promise. In the manner of the preparation of the lamb in its being roasted, typifying the suffering of Christ, Ps. xxii. 14, 15, by the holy wrath of God, which is compared unto fire, Ps. lxxxix. 46, Jerem. iv. 4, and in not a bone of the lamb being broken, typifying the indissoluble union of the person of Christ under his suffering; as to the place, though not at first, but after arriving at Canaan; and the time as to the month, the day, and the time of the day when the passover was to be eaten. In the whole of the lamb being eaten, signifying the need of receiving a whole Christ, as prophet, priest, and king; while the bitter herbs, which literally commemorated what had been Israel's condition in Egypt, in reference to Christ, morally signified the bitter sorrow that arises from a right view of sin; while the sprinkling of the blood of the lamb, and the eating of its flesh, and the several benefits therefrom resulting, could have been enjoyed only by Israel, and showed the speciality of the ordinance, and the peculiarity of Israel's privilege; so their condition in danger pointed out their need of sprinkling the blood, and their being at first on the wing for flight pointed out the need of complying with the Divine appointment, and the need of all speedily flying to Christ and eating his flesh, which is meat indeed; and the Divine condescension in suiting the lamb to the condition of Israel, distributively pointed out the exhibition of Christ suited unto the respective condition of all to whom it is made. While Israel's first eating the passover was just before their leaving Egypt, where they did only eat it once; so the Lord's supper that now supercedes it, did Christ only eat once before

he entered the land of rest, where he will drink of the wine that will ever there be new; and the whole ordinance was typical in inducement and penalty, Prov. viii. 4—36; John iii. 16—18, which would all admit of much illustration. Herein we see the importance of that ordinance which Divine authority, by way of favour, appointed to the Church; and to the enjoyment of which, in its strict observation, strangers and servants, bond and free, were freely admitted. They who, from among heathen nations that were brought into the Church, did thus enjoy the passover, which was an ordinance for the remembrance of what came on the rest, and the spared residue of these heathens were memorials of God's goodness in preservation; and here, along with the Church at large, they were memorials of God's goodness in the enjoyment of privileges, and of this ordinance, which was typical of deliverance from eternal destruction.

III. The feast of unleavened bread, Exod. xii. 15—20, ch. xiii. 3—10, ch. xxiii. 15, ch. xxxiv. 18; Levit. xxiii. 6—8; Num. xxviii. 17—25; Deut. xvi. 3—8; and this ordinance and all connected with it may be comprehended in the following:—

1st, In its author, the Lord, Exod. xii. 1, the same as that of the passover.

2d, The manner of its institution, Exod. xii. 15—20, by charge to Moses and Aaron, to whom the Lord continued to speak, from v. 1.

3d, The place where instituted, the land of Egypt, v. 1, where the passover was instituted.

4th, The time of delivering the charge to Moses and Aaron, which was immediately after the institution of the passover, Exod. xii. 1—14, and immediately before the charge for the passover was delivered by Moses, v. 21.

5th, Time as to Moses delivering the charge to Israel, which was on the same day on which Israel left Egypt after eating the passover, Exod. xii. 51, ch. xiii. 4; and after the Lord had claimed all the first born of man and beast, to be applied to his service according



to their respective characters, in consequence of his sparing Israel while the Egyptians were destroyed, ch. xiii. 1, 2, 12, 13, 15, ch. xxxiv. 19, 20.

6th, Time as to the commencement of this ordinance, was in the month Abib, Exod. xxxiv. 18, and the fifteenth day, Exod. xiii. 3, 4, ch. xxiii. 15, after eating the passover; Levit. xxiii. 6, Num. xxviii. 17, Dent. xvi. 1, 2, 3, 8, and Exod. xii. 18, was the passover, including the feast of unleavened bread; hence, Exod. xii. 18, said to begin with unleavened bread, in the evening of the fourteenth day.

7th, Time as to the continuance of this ordinance, on one occasion was seven days, Exod. xii. 15--19, ch. xiii. 6, 7; Levit. xxiii. 6, 8; Num. xxviii. 17. Exod. xii. 18, including the passover, made eight days, which ended on the twenty-first, Dent. xvi. 3, 4.

8th, Time as to each of the seven days, and the respective exercise of each, which was, the first and the last, or seventh, to be without any work, except what was necessary in preparing what every man was to eat, Exod. xii. 16, the same as Sabbath, and an assemblage of Israel called a holy convocation, its author, signification, and end being holy, Levit. xxiii. 7, 8; Num. xxviii. 18, 25; the other five intervening days, along with the first and the last, to be without leavened bread, Exod. xii. 15, 19; ch. xiii. 6, 7; Levit. xxiii. 6; Num. xxviii. 17; and a sheaf, Levit. xxiii. 10, which, by the priest, was to be offered on the first of these five, called the morrow after the Sabbath, which Sabbath was the first day of the feast, to which sheaf there was to be a he-lamb without blemish of the first year, for a burnt-offering unto the Lord, ver. 12; and along therewith a meat-offering made by fire, and a drink-offering of wine, the fourth-part of an hin, v. 13; and, until this, no part of the new crop was allowed to be eaten in any condition, or in any manner, v. 14; also on each of the seven days there were to be two young bullocks, one ram, seven lambs of the first year, Num. xxviii. 19, for a burnt-offering, and a goat for a sin-offering, v. 22, which were eleven victims every day, v. 24, during the seven days, besides the he-lamb on the second day, amounting to seventy-eight victims for this ordinance.

alone, besides the daily offerings, ver. 23, 24; Num. xxviii. 3, 4, 8—11, 15; and all the meat-offerings and drink-offerings of which, in their matter, quantity, and quality, are expressed, Num. xxviii. 20, 21; while the slaying of the victims was by those formerly alluded to in the passover, which was at first by the head of the family, Exod. xii. 3, 4, 6; whole family, Levit. i. 5; afterwards by the Levites, 2 Chron. xxx. 17, for those who were not clean, ch. xxxv. 11.

9th, Time as to the frequency of the celebration of this ordinance, which was once a year, Exod. xiii. 10. Along with the passover it was to be yearly.

10th, Time as to the continuance in duration of the observation of this ordinance, which was, during that dispensation, Exod. xii. 17, Levit. xxiii. 14, Deut. xvi. 3, all the days of thy life.

11th, Time as to the memorable event which this ordinance was to commemorate. Ex. xii. 17, ch. xiii. 3, 8, deliverance from Egypt.

12th, The subjects participant were those mentioned in the institution of the passover, Exod. xii. 3, all the congregation, v. 6, the assembly, v. 7, they, v. 8, they, v. 19, the congregation of Israel, ch. xiii. 3, the people. When they had to go to celebrate it in that place where the Lord was to choose to put his name, all males are expressly mentioned, not excluding females. Exod. xxxiv. 23; Deut. xvi. 16.

13th, Time as to its first observation, Exod. xii. 15—20, does not mention a time, but only as to the month, day, and time of the day, ch. xiii. 2—7; ch. xxxiv. 18; Levit. xxiii. 10—14; Deut. xvi. 7: turn in the morning and go unto thy tents; v. 8, was when arriving at Canaan; but, perhaps, this feast was observed at the second passover, Num. ix. 1; and the tarrying of the cloud afforded time, v. 19, 22; and the expression "kept the charge of the Lord," v. 19, 23, may not only mean that Israel obeyed the Lord's will as to staying and marching, but that, while they stayed, they observed his institutions, and this last appears from its being said that they kept the charge when they staid again, v. 19, and not in v. 18, 20, 21, 22.

14th, The place of its first observation; if this was at the second passover, Num. ix. 1 was in the wilderness of Sinai, v. 5; but, if not until arriving at Canaan, it was in their tents, Dent. xvi. 7.

15th, Its signification, Exod. xiii. 9, 16, for a visible conspicuous memorial of their deliverance from Egypt by the Lord.

16th, The end of the observation of this ordinance, in continuance as a perpetual memorial of what the Lord did for Israel, which was becoming himself to bring them to a regard to his whole revealed will, ver. 9, that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth; and, for this end, parents were to make known to their children the Lord's gracious interposition in v. 8; and for the same end was the giving the promised land, Ps. cv. 38—45, which also includes their having the Lord as their object of worship in the acknowledgment of him.

17th, The inducement to the observation of this ordinance, Exod. xii. 42; the bringing out of Egypt, and for this favour of exit did the Lord require all the first-born of man and of beast, ch. xiii. 2, 12—15; while ver. 15 respects the destruction of Egypt's first-born from man to beast, ch. xii. 29; Ps. cv. 36; Ps. cxxxv. 5. To this there was also the promise of the preservation of their lands and habitations during the attendance on this feast, Exod. xxxiv. 24; and of failure in any one instance there is not the least mention.

18th, The penalty, cut off, Exod. xii. 15; and this Ex. 19 extended to a stranger and to one born in the land.

19th, The relation, and yet the distinction between this and the passover. Though the institution of the feast of unleavened bread immediately followed the institution of the passover; and, though the feast of unleavened bread was immediately to follow the passover, yet the passover in its first observation was not followed by the feast of unleavened bread, nor yet in Num. xxi. 3; nor was the charge for its observation by Moses delivered until the morrow after the first passover, Exod. xiii. 3; and the charge here is for Israel to observe the feast of unleavened bread after reaching the promised land, v. 4—16; nor were the feasts of the

passover and of unleavened bread, one ordinance in appointment, matter, name, signification, and after recognition. 1st, The passover is included in Exod. xii. 1—14. The feast of unleavened bread, ver. 15—20, only since they were closely to follow one another the passover is mentioned, ver. 18. 2dly, The passover in its matter was the lamb, bitter herbs, and unleavened bread. The feast of unleavened bread in its institution, Exod. xii. 15—20, was nothing else but unleavened bread, only afterwards, sacrifices and offerings were appointed, Levit. xxiii. 8—14; Num. xxviii. 19—24. 3d, The first of these ordinances is called at first the passover, Exod. xii. 11, 27. The other is called the feast of unleavened bread, Exod. xii. 17. 4th, The passover was not the name of the matter of the ordinance, but its signification, which was protection, Exod. xii. 11, 13, 23, 27, 43, from what came on the Egyptians. The feast of unleavened bread commemorated their deliverance from Egypt, Exod. xii. 17; ch. xiii. 3, 8, 14; ch. xxiii. 15; ch. xxxiv. 18. Ch. xii. 39, does not refer to the feast of unleavened bread, but to ver. 34, the leaving Egypt in haste, not having time to leaven; nor was Exod. xiii. 3 the observation of it at that time, because the first and last days of it, Exod. xii. 16, which were required to be kept as Sabbath, did not admit of marching, which was also disallowed on the passover, Num. ix. 13. Yet, since both ordinances were appointed on one occasion, and the observation of the one immediately to follow that of the other as a continued festival for eight days, there was such a connexion between them in the cause, occasion, time of institution, and partly in their matter, that Exod. xxiii. 15, 17 seems to comprehend the passover under the name of the feast of unleavened bread. Exod. xxxiv. 25 seems to mean the passover alone, as ch. xii. 10, Num. ix. 12, 13; Exod. xii. 18, ch. xxiii. 15, Deut. vi. 1—4, refer to both. Exod. xxxiv. 18 is the feast of unleavened bread alone. 5th, Yet these two ordinances, with their twofold signification of protection and exit, continuing the same in duration, though sometimes mentioned as one complex ordinance, are afterwards recognised as two distinct feasts, Levit.

xxiii. 5, 6; Num. xxviii. 16, 17; 2 Chron. xxxv. 17; Neh. viii. 18. Matt. xxvi. 17, and Mark xiv. 12 refer to the passover, though called the feast of unleavened bread; and it is so called, because unleavened bread was to begin, and to be continued as a part of both ordinances during the whole festival. In Luke xxii. 1, the passover is called the feast of unleavened bread, because unleavened bread was a part of the passover, which was not followed by the feast of unleavened bread at the last time to Christ, more than at the first to Israel. It is no proof that the passover and the feast of unleavened bread were one ordinance because of their being mentioned together, Exod. xxiii. 15, 17, Deut. xvi. 16; for the feast of the first fruits, and the feast of ingathering are mentioned together, Exod. xxiii. 16, ch. xxxiv. 22, and yet they are not one.

VI.—The annual feast of harvest, first mentioned, Exod. xxiii. 16, and afterwards referred unto, ch. xxxiv. 22; Levit. xxiii. 15—21; Num. xxviii. 26—31; Deut. xvi. 9—12, ch. xxvi. 1—11; in which are comprehended:—

1st, The author, the Lord thy God, Exod. xx. 2, who continues speaking until ch. xxxi. 17. In Exod. xx. 22, he is called the Lord, and it is the glorious I who, ch. xxiii. 15, requires that to all he said Israel should be circumspect, and he is called the Lord in the first verses of the respective chapters where this ordinance is mentioned, who, in the whole Bible, speaks, 2 Tim. iii. 16; Heb. i. 1, 2; 2 Peter i. 21.

2d, The manner of institution, by charge to Moses in sundry portions, Exod. xxiii. 16, ch. xxxiv. 22; Levit. xxiii. 15—21; Num. xxviii. 26—31; Deut. xvi. 9—12, ch. xxvi. 1—11, in which manner, being at different times, was because the ordinance was not to be observed immediately, but after reaching Canaan, Levit. xxiii. 16; and,

3d, Time, in its several periods, was during the time that elapsed between the expiration of the four hundred and thirty years, Exod. xii. 40, 41, and Israel's reaching Canaan, Joshua v. 6, which was all comprehended in forty years; and the first two times, Exod.

xxiii. 16, ch. xxxiv. 22, were during Moses' stay in the Mount, which was forty days, ch. xxxiv. 28.

4th, The place of the institution at first, which was at Sinai, Exod. xix. 20, from whence the Lord continued to speak, ch. xxiii. 16; also in the second instance, ch. xxxiv. 18—20; and the rest of the places in Israel's march through the wilderness, the several stages of which we have, Exod. xii. 37, Num. xxxiii. 3—49, by Jordan, whence they are ordered to go to Canaan, Josh. i. 2, Acts vii. 30.

5th, In its several names, first, the feast of harvest, Exod. xxiii. 16, because it was at harvest, after the barley-harvest, which was seven weeks before the wheat; and it was of the barley, Levit. xxiii. 10, that was offered at the feast of unleavened bread; second, the feast of weeks, because it was to be after seven weeks were numbered, Levit. xxiii. 15, 16; Num. xxviii. 26, after your weeks be out; Deut. xvi. 10; third, the day of the first fruits, Num. xxviii. 26, because on it the first fruit of wheat was to be offered, Exod. xxxiv. 22; Levit. xxiii. 17, 20; Num. xxviii. 26, 28; yea, the first fruits of all the earth, Deut. xxvi. 2, 10; Exod. xxiii. 16; even of barley this was the first reserved; fourth, pentecost, Acts ii. 1, on which as the eminent outpouring of the Spirit.

6th, The time for its observation was to be on the fiftieth day, beginning the computation on the second day of the feast of unleavened bread, called the morrow after the Sabbath, Levit. xxiii. 15, 16; and this morrow after the Sabbath on which the numbering was to begin, was on the day on which the sheaf of the first fruit of barley was to be offered, v. 10, 11; which offering was to be after the first Sabbath of unleavened bread, and not after the last, which ended it. In Num. xxviii. 26, after your weeks be out, and these seven weeks it is said, should begin to be numbered from the time of putting the sickle into the corn, Deut. xvi. 9; that was the first fruits of barley which was ready before the wheat, Exod. ix. 31, 32; and it is to the barley that there is reference, Levit. xxiii. 10, which was ready seven weeks before the wheat for this feast.

7th, The time of its observation at first seems to have

been after reaching Canaan, because the reckoning for the time of the feast was to begin on the same day on which the wave-sheaf was offered, Levit. xxiii. 15, which was in Canaan, v. 10.

8th, The place of its observation was, Deut. xvi. 11, in the place which the Lord hath chosen to place his name, and it was the same place which has already been noticed, with reference to the passover and feast of unleavened bread.

9th, The time of its duration, one day, Levit. xxiii. 21, Num. xxviii. 26; the day of the first fruits of wheat in distinction from the first day of the first fruit of barley, Levit. xxiii. 10.

10th, The manner of its observation, by a complete cessation from all servile work, and by an assemblage, called an holy convocation, Levit. xxiii. 21; Num. xxviii. 26, by proclamation.

11th, Time, as to its frequency, once a-year, upon the return of harvest. This ordinance was one of the three mentioned, Exod. xxiii. 14, 17, ch. xxxiv. 23; Deut. xvi. 16.

12th, Its subjects in their classes, who were Israel, Exod. xxiii. 14, called "thou," ch. xxxiv. 22; Deut. xvi. 11, "Thou, son, daughter, servants, male and female, Levite, stranger, fatherless, and widow."

13th, Its subjects in their sexes, Exod. xxiii. 17, ch. xxxiv. 23; Deut. xvi. 16. This was one of the three ordinances, to the observation of which all the males were required yearly to attend; but, though these were required to go up to the place where the Lord would place his name, yet females, who were willing, were not disallowed; and all, in their different circumstances, in consequence of favour temporal and spiritual, were to rejoice in a participation of his special goodness, Deut. xvi. 11; ch. xxvi. 11.

14th, The respective exercises of people and priest, respecting several kinds of offerings for their respective purposes, which offerings in their matter, quality, quantity, and end, are mentioned, Levit. xxiii. 17—20; Num. xxviii. 26; and this last seems to be, not a repetition of the former, but in addition. Also, Deut. xvi. 10—12, ch. xxvi. 2—11, giving and rejoicing;

part of which offerings were to the Lord; Levit. xxiii. 16—19; Num. xxviii. 26—31; and part of which was to the priest, Levit. xxiii. 20, and is implied in the expression, Deut. xvi. 16, "They shall not appear before the Lord empty," Exod. xxiii. 15; ch. xxxiv. 20, or without that portion which, by Divine appointment, was due to the priest. The number of victims in Levit. xxiii. 18, 19, being thirteen, and in Num. xxviii. 27—30, being eleven, making twenty-four in whole for this ordinance, with the meat offerings, and drink offerings, besides the daily offerings.

15th, Its signification, which is not expressed but implied, and which on the part of God was a mark of his special bounty, and on Israel's part it was an acknowledgment of his authority and of their relation, dependence, gratitude, Deut. xvi. 16, ch. xxvi. 2—11, and joy, v. 11; and joy here is expressive of gratitude, and the temporal bounty in the fruits of the earth came to Israel in a special way, and this ordinance was special; and, though in its external it was temporal, yet by the first fruits and harvest it was significantly typical of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which, on that occasion, was vouchsafed, Acts ii; which has the name pentecost.

VII.—The annual feast of trumpets, Levit. xxiii. 23, 24; Num. xxix. 1—5; Ps. lxxxi. 3—5, included; Num. x. 10; comprehending:—

1st, Its author, the Lord, Levit. xxiii. 23; the object of worship, Num. xxix. 6; Ps. lxxxi. 4, a law of the God of Jacob, this ordinance he ordained, v. 5.

2d, The manner of institution, by charge to Moses, Levit. xxiii. 23, 24, to deliver to Israel, Num. x. 10.

3d, The time of its institution was during the time of Israel's leaving Egypt and arriving at Canaan, as I said on § 3, of the first fruits, Ps. lxxxi. 5.

4th, The place, Ps. lxxxi. 1, 5; Exod. xvii. 2; Rephidim, v. 7, 8.

5th, Time and frequency of its observation were, Levit. xxiii. 24, in the seventh month, which was Tisri, and on the first day of it, once a-year, Num. xxix. 1; Ps. lxxxi. 3, "our solemn feast-day," which distinguishes it from the rest of the new moons.



6th, Its duration on one occasion, one day, Levit. xxiii. 24; "In the first day ye shall have a Sabbath;" Num. x. 10, "the day;" Num. xxix. 1, "a day;" Ezek. xlv. 1.

7th, The place of its first observation, which seems to have been Canaan, among those ordinances which Israel were to observe after arriving there, Levit. xxiii. 10—44.

8th, The manner of its observation,—1st, By cessation from servile labour, observing it as Sabbath, Levit. xxiii. 25, hence called a Sabbath.—2d, By blowing of trumpets, and, besides the blowing of trumpets,—that was common for assembling Israel, Num. x. 2—7, and on all days of gladness, solemn days, beginnings of months, over burnt-offerings, sacrifices and peace-offerings, Num. x. 10; which blowing was to be in duration by the sons of Aaron, ver. 8,—there was on this day of annual trumpets more blowing, hence called "a memorial of blowing," Levit. xxiii. 24, and Num. xxix. 1, a day of the blowing of trumpets; in reference to which is, Ps. lxxxi. 3, and this trumpet is, perhaps, in addition to the two silver trumpets, and called the shophar, and made of horn, and called the cornet, Ps. xcvi. 6; and, if Ps. lxxxi. 1, 2, relate to this ordinance, on it there were timbrel, harp, psaltery, and vocal music, ver. 1, 2, a psalm.—3d, Offerings on that day, alluded to, Levit. xxiii. 25, which in their kind, quantity, and end, are mentioned, Num. xxix. 2—5, of which were victims in number ten, and their meat-offerings; and all this to the Lord, in opposition to heathens offering to idols, and said to be a sweet savour to him, ver. 2.

9th, The subjects, who are Israel, without any distinction of master or servant, Levit. xxiii. 24, 25; in Num. xxix. 1, 2, "ye," ver. 5, "for you," which was directed to the Church, and included all in her, according to Num. xv. 13—16; Ps. lxxxi. 4, for Israel, and ordained in Joseph, ver. 5, who was in bondage.

10th, Its signification, which, from the expressed time of its institution, Ps. lxxxi. 5, viz.—when going through the land of Egypt, and in Joseph, who was in bondage, and was the means of saving the whole

of Israel, may be considered as the reason of the deliverance from Egypt, *Exod. iv. 23, ch. xiii. 3*, with other mercies on the way, *Ps. lxxxi. 6, 7*; and while blowing, when on other feast-days, signified joy, gladness, exultation, and shouting; *Num. x. 10*, so, to celebrate the deliverance from Egypt, and the favour in bringing into liberty in the enjoyment of privileges, was the annual day of trumpets instituted, hence called a memorial, *Levit. xxiii. 24*, and a testimony, *Ps. lxxxi. 5*, and to sing aloud, *ver. 1, 2*.

11th, Its duration by institution; called a statute, *Ps. lxxxi. 4*, and ordained, *ver. 5*, including the obligation arising therefrom, and the inducement thereunto to perpetuate the Divine honour for the favour which by the Church was enjoyed, *ver. 6, 7, Exod. xvii. 7*; and in *Levit. xxiii. 24*, a memorial, and, while it was a memorial of what had been done for the Church, it was to the Divine honour. While his name is that revelation whereby he makes known himself essentially or relatively, his memorial is the perpetuation of that revelation.

VIII.—The day of expiation, *Exod. xxx. 10; Lev. xvi. 1—34, ch. xxiii. 27—32; Num. xxix. 7—11*, in which is the appointment of this ordinance, and the several sacrifices, persons, and respective duties of each, together with the end in view, and the names given, including the following particulars:—

1st, Its author, the Lord, *Levit. xvi. 1, ch. xxiii. 26; Num. xxix. 7—11*.

2d, The manner of its institution, by charge to Moses, *Exod. xxx. 10; Levit. xvi. 1*, to deliver to Aaron, *ver. 2, 3, ch. xxiii. 26*, with a prohibition of coming into the holy place within the vail, or the holy of holies, into which he, and he alone, was to come only once a year, *Heb. ix. 7*, and the number of times on that day was at least three, if not four, as in the progress will appear.

3d, The time of the institution, which was after leaving Egypt and before reaching Canaan, *Exod. xxx. 10*, and in this place, *Levit. xvi. 1*, after the death of Aaron's sons, *ch. x. 2*, after the making of the taber-

nacle that was then finished, Exod. xxxix. 32, ch. xl. 33.

4th, The place of charge respecting it was first, Exod. xxx. 10, Mount Sinai, afterwards in the wilderness, Levit. xvi. ch. xxiii.; Num. xxix.

5th, The time of its observation, as to the month, day of the month, and time of the day. Levit. xvi. 29, the seventh month Tisri, and the tenth day thereof, ch. xxiii. 27, commencing from the evening of the ninth, ver. 32.

6th, The continuance of this ordinance on one occasion, one day, Levit. xvi. 29—32, ch. xxiii. 27, 28, 32, from the evening of the ninth continuing without intermission. While the placing in the garden, setting apart the tree from the man, after which it would seem the woman was made, which closed the whole process of the sixth day's transaction, in the signification of the seventh for rest, which was the first day after man was made, and after he was placed in it on trial, and reckoning the seventh the first, and the eighth the second, the third would have been the ninth, on which perhaps he fell, and on the evening on which he was found guilty, Gen. iii. 8, in the cool of the day, and to which perhaps there is respect, Levit. xxiii. 32, the evening of the ninth day of the seventh month, which was so by change, Exod. xii. 2, but from creation was the first month.

7th, Its frequency, once a-year, Exod. xxx. 10; Levit. xvi. 34, returning at the same time, ver. 29, in continuance, ver. 31.

8th, The manner of the observation of the day, with sacred solemnity, by a total cessation from servile labour, Levit. xvi. 29—31, ch. xxiii. 28—30, hence called a Sabbath, ch. xvi. 31, together with an assemblage called a holy convocation, ch. xxiii. 27, and different kinds of beasts appropriated to their respective purposes, and the different parts of exercise by Israel respectively with reference thereunto; all of which beasts were for victims by sacrifice, except the scape-goat, while the other was to make atonement, Levit. xvi. 10; and this day called a day of atonement, ch. xxiii. 27, 28.

9th, The beasts, in kind and in number, with the meat-offerings and drink-offerings for this day, were, Levit. xvi. 3, a young bullock and a ram, and, Num. xxix. 8—11, one young bullock, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year without blemish; according to Levit. i. 3, ch. iv. 3, also one kid of the goats, Num. xxix. 11; and all these in Num. xxix. 8—11, were besides those in Levit. xvi. and besides Levit. vii. 38, or continual burnt-offerings, Num. xxviii. 4—8, and the meat-offerings. The whole number of beasts peculiar to this day were fifteen. The former victims, Levit. xvi. had no meat-offerings nor drink-offerings, as those in Num. xxix. 8—10, which have annexed unto them "for a sweet savour," ver. 8. Though the order of the times in which these in Num. xxix. were to be offered be not mentioned, yet it is likely that it was after the offering of what was formerly mentioned, Levit. xvi.

10th, The high priest in his person, and in his relation to Moses, Levit. xvi. 2, 3, Aaron, and his successors.

11th, The high priest washing and attiring himself, Levit. xvi. 4, with garments called linen, and severally expressed, which in number are four, the coat, the breeches, the girdle, and mitre, which last included a fifth, the plate of pure gold, or holy crown, which was to be alway on his mitre, Exod. xxviii. 38.

12th, In his exercise, receiving from the congregation, Levit. xvi. 5.

13th, Presenting the two goats at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, ver. 7.

14th, Casting lots upon the two goats, the one to be a sin-offering, ver. 9, which was so disposed of, ver. 15, the other goat to be preserved alive to the Lord, ver. 10, which goat had the name of scape-goat, ver. 8, because, by divinely-appointed and divinely-directed lot, it was made to escape from being made a sacrifice, and was sent into the wilderness, ver. 21, 22.

15th, The high priest bringing unto the door of the tabernacle, Levit. iv. 4, the bullock which he had received, ch. xvi. 3, for a sin-offering for himself, and for his house, and killing him there, v. 11, according to ch.

iv. 4, and xvi. 6; and his house included his wife, children, and domestic servants, if of these he had any; and even probably included the rest of the priests, Ps. civ. 10, 12, called the house of Aaron; and that his house, Levit. xvi. 6—11, includes the rest of the priests, appears from their having sin, for which atonement needed to be made, Levit. xvi. 33; and yet these priests are not included among the congregation at large, v. 5; yea, the bullock was necessary for the priest, while the goat was for Israel at large.

16th, The high priest taking the censer full of burning coals of fire, and the sweet incense, and bringing those within the veil into the most holy place, or the holy of holies, v. 12; putting the sweet incense upon the fire before the Lord, v. 13, that the cloud of incense might cover the mercy-seat that was upon the testimony that he died not, because the Divine majesty, in a very special manner, appeared there in the cloud upon the mercy-seat. Before his entrance, he behoved to have arrayed himself with Exod. xxviii. 29, 30, 35.

17th, The high-priest taking the blood of the victim that was slain for a sin-offering for himself and his house, and with his finger sprinkling this blood seven times eastward, not only before the mercy-seat, but upon it, v. 14; and the reason of sprinkling this blood eastward was, because of the situation of the mercy-seat being on the east-side of the holy of holies, the side of the veil that parted from the sanctuary, according to Levit. ix. 17.

18th, The high priest killing the goat on which the lot fell, v. 9, for a sin-offering for the people, and bringing the blood within the veil into the holy of holies, v. 15, and doing with the blood as he had done with the blood of the bullock, v. 14.

19th, The condition of the tabernacle, no man in it during this peerless exercise of the priest going into the holy of holies, v. 17; Heb. ix. 7.

20th, The high-priest sprinkling the tabernacle of the congregation with the blood of the bullock, and of the goat, v. 16, "so shall he do for the tabernacle of the congregation."

21st, The high priest out of the holy of holies sprink-

libg the altar, v. 18, 19, of sweet incense, Exod. xxx. 6—10.

22d, The assigned end or signification of this two-fold sprinkling with the blood of the bullock and of the goat, the holy of holies, the tabernacle, and the altar, v. 14, 15, 16, 18, to make atonement, v. 16, 17, 18—30; and to cleanse and to hallow from the uncleanness of the children of Israel, v. 19, reconciling the holy of holies, the tabernacle, and the altar, v. 20.

23d, The high-priest bringing the live-goat that was to escape, v. 8, 10—20, laying his hands upon its head, and confessing the sins of Israel, v. 21; sending it away into the wilderness by the hands of a fit man, likely a priest, or else an elder, while all the iniquities of Israel were by this goat typically borne, and carried into the wilderness, v. 22.

24th, The high priest coming into the tabernacle of the congregation, and putting off the garments which he put on when he went into the holy of holies within the vail, v. 23, which garments in their several articles are not here expressed, concerning which, with other parts of attire for their respective ends, there were such direction and injunction given respecting these garments in their material frame and use, Exod xxviii. 2—43; and, for the making of which, with other things for Divine service, such gifts were bestowed, ch. xxxi. 3, 10;—ch. xxxv. 30—35; ch. xxxvi. 1, 2; ch. xxxviii. 22, 23, and which direction and injunction were so minutely observed, ch. xxxvi. 1; ch. xxxix. 43.

The garments with which the high priest on this day of atonement was arrayed may be considered, first, in their names and number; second, in their material and frame; third, in their respective uses; fourth, in their suits; fifth, in the order in which they were put on; sixth, in their duration; seventh, in the penalty enjoined enforcing their use.

1st, In the order to make them are, Exod. xxviii. 4, a breast-plate, an ephod, a robe, a brodered coat, a mitre, and a girdle, v. 36, a plate of pure gold, called, ch. xxix. 6, a holy crown; v. 40, another girdle along with his sons, in addition to the fore-mentioned one, v. 4, 8, 39; v. 42, breeches. Indeed, v. 40 only men-

tions his sons, but v. 41 includes him with them, as well as v. 42, 43. Here are nine articles for the high priest, while the universal enumeration of these by writers is only eight. The ninth is a girdle besides the curious girdle, mentioned in its material, Exod. xxviii. 8, and in the manner of its being made, v. 39, which girdle in both these is referred to, ch. xxxix. 29. The other girdle is included in the direction to make for Aaron's sons, Exod. xxviii. 40, and in the order for his consecration, ch. xxix. 9, it is implied; and at his consecration, Levit. viii. 7—9, it is expressly said, that in both these he was arrayed; and, as we will shortly see, the curious girdle was the girdle of the ephod, and of that part of his pontifical array that in use belonged exclusively to the holy of holies, and the other girdle belonged to his more plain dress, and was common to him with his sons, and no common priest officiated without one. Though breeches are not mentioned, Exod. xxix. 5; 6, 8, 9, nor Levit. viii. 7—9, yet they were ordered to be made, Exod. xxviii. 42, and to be used, Levit. xvi. 4; and, doubtless, were on, Levit. viii. 7—9, at his consecration.

2d, In their material and frame, and this may be considered in the order in which the direction for making these is recorded, Exod. xxviii. The material of the whole is mentioned, v. 5, gold, blue, purple, scarlet, and fine linen. While blue, purple, and scarlet are colours, the material of these is not mentioned, but it behoved to have been either silk, cotton, wool, or else linen; and, seeing linen is mentioned in addition to these, as if different from them, and since linen takes on the dye the worst of any, it is likely that, besides the linen, these, or some of these were used; and, perhaps, even a little wool for variegating the colour might have been in accordance with the disallowing of garments wholly of wool, that had a tendency to cause sweats, Ezek. xlv. 17, 18; and, besides, the exercise in the holy of holies was not laborious. The reason why the material is not mentioned, is because of the known common use of the material to which these different colours were respectively applied, and the direction for the several articles of garments was as follows:—

The ephod in Exod. xxviii. 6—14; the curious girdle of the ephod, v. 8, 39; the breast-plate, v. 15, 28, 30; the robe of the ephod, v. 31—34; the mitre, ch. xxix. 6, was of pure gold, ch. xxviii. 36, 37; the coat, v. 39; the breeches, v. 42. Of these garments, in their dimensions, either as to shape or yet size, we have little information. Of the breeches, indeed, it is said that they shall reach from the loins even to the thighs, v. 42. From the assumed habit, Rev. i. 13, it is likely that "the garment down to the foot" represented the robe of the ephod, with the golden bells and pomegranates.

3d, In their use, which was fourfold—first, a use for clothing, as garments in general are, and this was the simplest purpose, hence called "garments," Exod. xxviii. 2; the breeches, v. 42, being especially for decency; second, a special use to distinguish the priest in his official exercise, hence called "holy garments," Exod. xxviii. 2; third, a use for honour and comeliness, even the plainest were in their kind and order so graceful that they were "for glory and for beauty," Exod. xxviii. 2, 40, yet not for vanity, but by Divine direction, to be used in the Divine service, and for the Divine glory; fourth, and with respect to the different places, exercises, and times in which, by the high priest, these garments were respectively to be used, with their Divinely-assigned signification. The ephod and its curious girdle were for the holy of holies, v. 29, with the breast-plate, bearing the names of the twelve tribes for a memorial before the Lord; while the names on the stones in the shoulders of the ephod were for a memorial unto the children of Israel, as well as for a memorial before the Lord, v. 12; the Urim and the Thummim in the breast-plate on the heart of Aaron, bearing the judgment of the children of Israel before the Lord in the continual use thereof. The robe of the ephod, with the golden bells and pomegranates interchangeably, was for the holy of holies, v. 35; and the sound of the bells to be heard in Aaron's going in and coming out, that he died not. The head-dress of mitre and holy crown, was for the holy of holies, and also for all the rest of the priestly office, v. 38, to render Israel acceptable



to the Lord, as may also be found more largely expressed in various other parts of sacred writ.

4th, In their suits, which were two, arising from the former particular in the respective uses of these clothes; betwixt which suits there is a marked distinction, Ex. xxxi. 10, ch. xxxv. 19, ch. xxxix. 1, "the clothes of service," and "the holy garments;" the former being for the holy of holies, the latter for the rest of the priestly office.

5th, The order in which they were put on, which, at his consecration, was as related in Levit. viii. 7—9. Here the breeches are not mentioned, and yet they behoved to have been put on first; then the coat; then the common girdle; then the robe; then the ephod; then its girdle; then the breast-plate; then the mitre; and then the crown: and, after his consecration, with all these garments at once, Aaron was never again arrayed. When in separate suits, that for the daily exercise, consisting of the common garments, was as here noticed in the first three, with the addition of the mitre, as Levit. xvi. 4. That suit for the holy of holies, according to institution, Exod. xxviii. 28, consisted of the robe of the ephod, the ephod, its girdle, the breast-plate, the mitre, and the crown. The direction, Exod. xxix. 5, was not so much as to the manner as it was to the articles; for the curious girdle behoved to be on before the breast-plate that was to be above it, ch. xxviii. 28. However, the putting on of the garments was not the first thing in the consecration of the priest. He was first washed; then enrobed; then anointed, Exod. xxix. 4—9; upon which occasion there were other parts of service, verses 1—3, 10—20, consisting of slaying, burning, and sprinkling (one part of which service is said to be a sweet savour, v. 18); then the tip of the right ear, the thumb of the right hand, and the toe of the right foot, touched with blood, v. 20; then sprinkling, v. 21; then filling his hand, v. 24.

6th, In their duration of use and signification, Exod. xxviii. 43, ch. xxix. 9, 29, ch. xl. 15; by Divine authority appointed by a perpetual statute for Aaron, and for his sons, as a mark of warrant to approach. All this consecration, that was for his sons as well as for

himself, seems in continuance to have been appointed for them as well as for him; and appears to be alluded to, 2 Chron. xxix. 34. The priest that is anointed, Levit. iv. 3, 5, 16, is not the high priest, but the priests in distinction from others.

7th, The penalty under which the use of each of these suits, distributively, for their respective purposes was enjoined, was that "he," the high priest, "die not," Exod. xxviii. 35; and that he and his sons "bear not iniquity and die," v. 43; thus pointing out the need of regard to the Divine authority in the institution. Ch. xxviii. 35, was not, that by the sound of the bells the people might have evidence that the priest had not been slain; but it was an appointment by Divine authority, upon the observance of which his life did depend. See an instance of this in Levit. x. 1, 2.

Here we see that the garments with which the high priest was arrayed, when he went into the holy of holies, though by translators termed "linen," Levit. xvi. 23, yet were not the plain linen, v. 4; but the other, consisting of the ephod, with its girdle and robe, the breast-plate, mitre, and crown. And, indeed, though the crown was peculiar to the high priest, in distinction from the rest of the priests, yet not to the holy of holies, but was to be upon his mitre always when he officiated in the sacred office, Exod. xxviii. 38. That it was these with which the high priest was arrayed when he went into the holy of holies, is undeniably evident, because the breast-plate of judgment, in which were set the Urim and Thummim, Exod. xxviii. 30, was to be fastened to the ephod not to be loosed, v. 28; and the breast-plate he was to have on when he went into the holy of holies, v. 29, 30. Also, without the robe of the ephod, he dared not enter there, but at the peril of his life; and this day of atonement was the only day on which, in the whole year, he did there appear, Heb. ix. 7. Except the mitre and the holy crown (which he always wore when exercised in the sacred office), on this day of atonement, he behoved to have changed his two suits at least twice, and to have had on his more richly-adorned garments, as often as he went into the holy of holies. This was, first, with the

censer in the one hand, and the fire in the other, Levit. xvi. 12, 13; secondly, with the blood of the bullock, for himself and his house, v. 14; but between these two times he did not change his garments; thirdly, with the blood of the goat, v. 18; and, fourthly, to bring out the censer and the pot that contained the incense; and yet all these times were agreeable to Heb. ix. 7, where the once is one day, or on one occasion in the year. Moreover, these garments were unfit for his part of the work on the day of atonement, viz. slaying, which would have besmeared them; and which work, being laborious, required him to be thinly clad; while the nature of the exercise of the day, it being a day of humiliation, required freedom from ornaments. The reason why Levit. xvi. 12 did not mention the high priest's arraying himself before he went into the holy of holies, nor v. 23 what those articles severally were, was because it was formerly appointed, Exod. xxviii. 12, 29, 35, 38.

On this subject of the garments of the high priest, all commentators, expositors, lexicographers, and treatises on the subject in whatever manner, have been, and still continue, in a mistake, saying that it was with the more plain linen garments that the high priest went into the holy of holies on this day of atonement; and that he then put on his golden garments, and offered the burnt-offerings, which will not at all comport with Divine institution. The occasion of the mistake seems to have arisen from the use of the word "linen," Levit. xvi. 23; and upon this subject some writers seem to have studiously avoided the verse altogether. In modern uninspired language, we term the more richly-ornamented garments of the high priest the golden garments; and this very properly may be done to distinguish these from his more plain suit, which he had in common with the other priests. However, though there was gold about his more richly-ornamented garment, yet they were partly linen. The term "linen," Levit. xvi. 23, is no proof that the garments there were the linen ones expressed in v. 4. There is no doubt that "the holy place," in v. 23, is that within the vail; while the epithet "holy place," v. 24, is not that with-

in the vail, but that where the laver for washing stood, Exod. xxx. 18, 19. The term "linen," Levit. xvi. 23, was not in opposition to those, v. 4, but in distinction from them, and in opposition to woollen garments, Ezek. xlv. 17, which might have been worn by the priests when they were not officiating in the sacred office, but which were then disallowed, because they were not according to institution, and would have caused sweat, v. 18. It may also be here noticed, that even in the holy of holies, the head of the high priest was covered, and that for his feet no attire was provided. Moses hid his face, Exod. iii. 6; and Elijah wrapped his face in a mantle, 1 Kings xix. 13; and the seraphim covered their faces, Isaiah vi. 2; and, in Exod. iii. 5, Moses is required to put off his shoes; and Joshua likewise, Josh. v. 15. It is also observable, that besides the value of these garments in their use and signification, by Divine appointment, they were the most richly-adorned and costly attire with which a man was ever arrayed. Here we see all things, the most precious and valuable in nature in this terrestrial globe, made use of by Divine appointment for a spiritual end, to subserve a dispensation of supernatural grace.—Here Josephus' account of these articles of the high priest, severally representing this earth and the heavenly bodies, is ridiculous, and directly subversive of God's designed end. Books, many books, professedly treating on religious subjects, leave the Word of God, and are so full of heathenish fables and fancy, that were we wishing to obtain a knowledge of the mind of God in his Word, we might as well read the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*.

25th, The high priest after divesting himself of the garments which he had within the vail, and washing himself in the holy place where the laver stood, Levit. xvi. 24, Exod. xxx. 17—21, then offering for himself, and for all the rest of Israel, to make atonement for him and for them.

26th, The disposal of the fat of the bullock, of the sin-offering for the priests, and of the fat of the goat, of the sin-offering for the congregation, by the high priest burning it upon the altar, Levit. xvi. 25.

27th, The fit man, by whom the goat had been conducted into the wilderness, washing his clothes, bathing himself in water, and returning into the camp, Levit. xvi. 26, the ram for the burnt-offering having been consumed.

28th, The bullock and the goat that were killed, v. 11, 15, and had their blood sprinkled, v. 14, 15, carried without the camp by one who burned their skins, flesh, and dung, in the fire, v. 27, ch. iv. 12, 21, Exod. xxix. 14.

29th, This executor washing his clothes, bathing himself in water, and then returning to the camp, v. 28, as he had conducted the goat into the wilderness, v. 26.

30th, The exercise of the people afflicting their souls, which exercise was, in part, by denying themselves sleep during the night; during which time also, and all the following day until even, they likewise denied themselves meat, Levit. xvi. 29, 31, ch. xxiii. 27, 32. Afflicting implied what was disagreeable, and is the very reverse of delight; and denying themselves sleep, was denying themselves that repose and refreshment which were necessary, and which were allowable to them at other times; and perhaps this has a respect to Gen. iii. 8, "in the cool of the day," in the evening thereof, when God found man sinful, guilty, and filthy, and then revealed mercy and judgment. The abstaining from meat, is also included. Since man had eaten what was forbidden, Gen. ii. 17, ch. iii. 6, when he had superabundance besides, he now, in token of sorrow, denies himself what was lawful. The misconduct of our first parents in paradise gave rise to all after afflicting, which ought to be traced to it. This afflicting was also to be viewed as appointed by God in his new-covenant character, and it was only from a view of him in this character, that the soul could have been led to mourn aright. Finding pleasure, as well as exacting labour, on fast days, is blamed, Isaiah lviii. 3, and from v. 6, fasting implied a turning to study. This exercise will be more fully adverted to afterwards.

31st, The subjects, Levit. xvi. 29, "one of your own country, or a stranger that sojourneth among you."

32d, The penalty, which was twofold. The first part was for not afflicting their souls, and for this they were to be cut off, ch. xxiii. 29, or dismembered from the Church. The second part of the penalty, or rather the penalty for the second part of the breach was, "I will destroy," v. 30, which was a greater degree of punishment annexed, because working was an additional aggravation to the not afflicting their souls.

33d, The duration, Exod. xxx. 10, Levit. xvi. 29, "This shall be a statute for ever;" v. 31, "by a statute for ever;" ch. xxiii. 31, "a statute for ever throughout your generations;" and this recognition of the Divine authority, and the perpetuation of this institution, were to be by the succession of the priest, Levit. vi. 9—22, ch. xvi. 32—34, "to be an everlasting statute."

34th, Its moral signification, showing sin in its guilt and filth. The high priest washing himself, and with the blood sprinkling the tabernacle and the altar, and even the holy of holies, showed this; and along herewith, the victim sacrificed on other occasions, yea, morning and evening, whereby there was a daily streaming of blood, together with what there was on this occasion, showed this, and also showed the inflexible justice of God; and while this was the case, showing that without the shedding of blood there was no remission; it being of Divine appointment with the confession of sin, on the day of atonement for Israel without exception, in all classes. And while it was thus, "If thou shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord who shall stand?" Ps. cxxx. 3. Yet the shedding of blood in general, and particularly, on this day, the blood of the one goat, with the confession of sin over the other, by which sin was carried away, being all of Divine appointment, showed that there is forgiveness with God that he might be feared; and the appointment of the goat by lot, which was directed by God, pointed out the transference of our sin to Christ, Isaiah liii. 6, by the exercise of the holiness, justice, sovereignty, and grace of God, making "him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him," 2 Cor. v. 21; who is now "set forth a propitiation" for our sins, "through

faith in his blood," that God "might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus," Rom. iii. 25, 26. While the altar of incense that was sprinkled; and the burning of the incense, typified the acceptableness of the sacrifice of Christ unto God; and while the carrying away of confessed sin, by the live goat, showed the removal of it; and while the blood of bulls and of goats could not actually take away sin, Heb. x. 4, which was also shown by the regular repetition of the shedding of blood, yet the doing of it in faith rendered the exercise acceptable to God, and directed to look forward to the promised seed, Gen. iii. 15, in the bruising of his heel, or human nature, which was by him chosen and assumed for this purpose, and who in his person and work was typified, particularly in this ordinance, by the high priest, who had garments made on purpose for him in his official character; and who in his person, Heb. v. 4, 5, ch. vii. 28, call, and consecration, in reality, though not in manner nor duration, v. 16, 21, 24, but in his attire and official exercise, typified him, Ps. xlv. 7, John iii. 34. The more plain linen used by the high priest on this day, together with the exercise therein, was typical of Christ in his humiliation, vailing his glory, and appearing, not only in the fashion of a man, but in the form of a servant; and though our nature was fallen, yet in the way in which it was assumed by him, it was perfectly pure and clean, Luke, i. 35. Heb. vii. 26. The high priest's having, on the fore part of his head, conspicuous to all, the holy crown or plate of gold, bearing, "Holiness to the Lord," typified Christ in his estates both of humiliation and of exaltation, always, in person office and exercise, bearing holiness to the Lord as the end in view. Ps. xlv. 7, "Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness." Matth. i. 21, "He shall save his people from their sins." The high priest in the more rich, as well as significantly-adorned garments with which he was arrayed when he went into the holy of holies, was typical of Christ in his glorified state; where, in the manifestation of himself in his priestly robes, he was "clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle," Rev. i.

13; which manifestation had an overpowering effect, even on the beloved disciple who had formerly leaned on the bosom of Christ, John xiii. 23; who, notwithstanding his majesty, did in condescension speak in the language of Divine kindness, tenderness, and support, Rev. i. 17, "Fear not," becoming himself, which is the unvaried language peculiar to God, according to the varying circumstances of need, Isaiah xliii. 1—5, ch. xlv. 2, ch. liv. 4, Lam. iii. 57, &c. However, the view that Rev. i. 14, "his head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow," proves the eternity of Christ is injudicious and incorrect. The idea from which this view proceeds, is, from the head being white, as importing duration or age. Though Christ, as to his godhead, is absolutely eternal; and as to his manhood, in union therewith, will continue for ever in duration without end; yet white is nowhere in Scripture used to denote eternity or time in duration. For the head to be white or grey through age, in Scripture, always denotes decay of vigour and beauty; as of Ephraim, Hosea vii. 9, &c.; and, besides, it is not grey but white, Rev. i. 14; but now, in Scripture, white, in either a natural or moral sense, always signifies purity. Here, in this world, a due mixture of white is necessary to complete a beautiful face of a man, Song v. 10, Lam. iv. 7. In Ps. xlv. 2, Christ is said to be "fairer than the sons of men;" and though this is said of him more especially in a spiritual respect, yet whiteness is a feature in beauty and the complexion of glory, Matth. xvii. 2, ch. xxviii. 3. In Mark ix. 3. his raiment is said to have been so white that it could not have been excelled, or even equalled, by the hand of art, ch. xvi. 5, John xx. 12, Rev. vii. 14, ch. xix. 8. Indeed, in Song v. 11, Christ's head is said to be "as the most fine gold," and his locks to be "bushy and black," but this description is metaphorical, importing preciousness, durability, and deep manifold counsels; but Rev. i. 14. is literal, and the words, "his head and his hairs white like wool, as white as snow," signify exquisite fineness in texture, and purity and beauty in colour, all importing purity, beauty, and splendour. And this is meant of Christ in his glorified



state; and there is no doubt that, through eternity, Christ will be more white and fair than any here, even of the most sanguine of the sons of men. The high priest with the breast-plate, on which were engraven the names of the twelve tribes, typified Christ representing the Church in his humiliation, but more especially in his exaltation; and a copy of the counterpart of his intercession above we have on record, John xvii. 9--24. The high priest with the Urim and the Thummim, by the appointment of God, for obtaining his mind in all difficult cases, was significantly typical of Christ in his prophetic office. While "no man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him," Matth. xi. 27, "the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, hath declared him," John i. 18, and made as full a disclosure of the being and counsels of God as is necessary for the Church here below. The sounding of the golden bells of the robe of the ephod on the high priest, when he went into the holy of holies, signified the publicity of his office and exercise, and typified Christ in the joyful acclamations with which he was welcomed into heaven as the head and representative of the Church, Ps. xxiv. 7--10; similar to what was the case after the giving of the law, Ps. lxxviii. 17, 18; while the disallowing of any to be present, even in the tabernacle, when the high priest entered the holy of holies, was expressive of the Divine majesty therein; and that the way into heaven was not actually so fully manifested, Heb. ix. 8. And, while the reconciling of the holy place, or holy of holies, was by the application of the blood that had been shed, and was antecedent to the confession of sins over the head of the scape-goat, by which these sins were carried away, the shedding of the blood of Christ was thereby pointed out as the ground of the confession, and of the forgiveness of these sins, and of the preparation of heaven for us, not, indeed, by its being made holy, but only in the purpose of God provided, and we being prepared for it. While the fire was to burn the incense, the entrance of the high priest by these was expressive of the Divine majesty and glory, even on the mercy-seat, which glory

the high priest was unable at first to endure without the shade of the cloud that proceeded from the burning of the incense upon the fire, and this showed that heaven can be entered by us, only through the mediation of the sacrifice of Christ, which was a sacrifice of a sweet smelling savour to God, Eph. v. 2; and also the obscurity of the ancient dispensation. Much obscurity still remains in the Church militant, as compared with her triumphant above, though her revelation here is, in Divine wisdom, suited to her state in this world, as the former revelation was unto Moses and those with whom he was then connected, Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7, which was what the Lord called the seeing of his back parts, ch. xxxiii. 23, and the making of all his goodness to pass before him, v. 19; while Moses was denied, v. 18, that bright effulgence of glory which was not suited to man in this world, v. 20.

The entrance of the high priest after the shedding of blood, that he might sprinkle it, was typical of Christ, who, after that he had, through the eternal Spirit, or holy Spirit, offered himself without spot unto God, Heb. ix. 14; and had, by the once offering up of himself, for ever perfected them who were sanctified, ch. x. 14; did enter heaven by his own blood that he might apply it, where he now intercedes, and, upon the merit of which blood in its continuing efficacy, he is able to save to the very uttermost all that come to God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession, Heb. vii. 25, for the application of his blood for the regeneration, justification, and sanctification of men here, and for their reception into glory at last, John xvii. 6—24. A better acquaintance with the word would lead to more discernment of the moral and typical signification of this ordinance, in all that did appertain to it, nothing of which that Divine wisdom and grace have seen meet to transmit to us in record was without signification: it therefore demands attention, inquiry, and improvement from us, which, if saving, will have their own reward.

IX.—The annual feasts of tabernacles and of ingathering, Exod. xxiii. 16, Levit. xxiii. 33—36, 39—44, Num. xxix. 12—38, Deut. xvi. 13, 15, 16, Neh. viii. 18.

- 1st, In its author, the Lord, Levit. xxiii. 33.
- 2d, In its object of worship; Levit. xxiii. 34, "Unto the Lord," v. 36, Num. xxix. 12, 13, Deut. xvi. 15.
- 3d, The manner of institution; by mention, first, of the feast of ingathering, Exod. xxiii. 16, "in the end of the year," then of the feast of tabernacles, Levit. xxiii. 34; and, in v. 36, of the feast of ingathering, which was the eighth day; Num. xxix. 12—34, of the feast of tabernacles; and in v. 35, of the feast of the ingathering, under the name of solemn assembly; and in Deut. xvi. 13, of the feast of tabernacles; and in v. 16, mentioning only the feast of tabernacles, as one of the three annual feasts, though the other immediately follows.
- 4th, The time of the institution was during the space of forty years after the giving of the law, Exod. xx.; and before Israel's entrance into Canaan.
- 5th, The place of institution, in its different times, was the wilderness.
- 6th, The time for its observance in the commencement, as to the month and the day thereof, was, Levit. xxiii. 34, 39, "the fifteenth day of the seventh month," Num. xxix. 12. As to the season of the year, Exod. xxiii. 16, Deut. xvi. 13, "after thou hast gathered in thy corn and thy wine;" that is, after the harvest and the vintage.
- 7th, The time of the celebration of this complex ordinance, on one occasion, was eight days. Seven of these were for the feast of tabernacles, Levit. xxiii. 34; and the eighth, v. 36, for an holy convocation, which was on a portion of the time that was set apart for the feast of harvest, v. 39, Num. xxix. 12—15. Deut. xvi. 15, refers to the feast of tabernacles alone; but Neh. viii. 18, refers to both it and the feast of harvest.
- 8th, The time of its first observance was, after reaching Canaan, Joshua v. 10; hence, Exod. xxiii. 15—17, Deut. xvi. 16, one of the three yearly feasts "when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field;" and the reason of the directions about it being delivered at several times, was, because it was to be observed only in Canaan, Levit. xxiii. 10; and the dwelling in booths or temporary places of residence,

was to be in commemoration of Israel's having dwelt in booths and tabernacles in the wilderness, after leaving Egypt; hence this ordinance was one of the three yearly feasts, *Exod. xxiii. 34, Deut. xvi. 16.*

9th, Time, as to the exercise of the several days, was, on the first and on the eighth day, an holy convocation, *Levit. xxiii. 35, 36*; without any work, *v. 39, Num. xxix. 12, 35*; and on these, with the six intervening days, sacrifices were to be offered, *Levit. xxiii. 36*; which sacrifices are mentioned, *Num. xxix. 12—39*, showing a decrease in number every day, and in order were the following:—

On the 1st day,	13	bullocks,	2	rams,	14	lambs,	1	goat
" 2d "	12	"	2	"	14	"	1	"
" 3d "	11	"	2	"	14	"	1	"
" 4th "	10	"	2	"	14	"	1	"
" 5th "	9	"	2	"	14	"	1	"
" 6th "	8	"	2	"	14	"	1	"
" 7th "	7	"	2	"	14	"	1	"
" 8th "	1	"	1	"	7	"	1	"
	71	+	15	+	105	+	8	= 199

victims in whole, with their meat-offerings and drink-offerings; also, on the first day taking boughs, *Levit. xxiii. 40, Neh. viii. 15*; and on the first seven days dwelling in booths, *Levit. xxiii. 42, Neh. viii. 16*; and during the feast rejoicing, *Deut. xvi. 14*, which, in kind, was to be holy, spiritual, and gracious.

10th, Its frequency, once a-year, it being one of the three, *Exod. xxiii. 14, 17, Deut. xvi. 16*; returning on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, *Exod. xxiii. 34, Num. xxix. 12.*

11th, Its subjects, "all thy males," *Exod. xxiii. 17*; all born Israelites, *Levit. xxiii. 42, Deut. xvi. 14.* The first of these passages does not exclude females; and the second enjoins lineal descendants, or successors of those who enjoyed that which this ordinance commemorated; and the third expressly includes all servants, male and female, and the Levite, stranger, fatherless, and widow; and what the second prescribes to Israel, in distinction, is only to dwell in booths.

12th, Its signification; the seven days in booths,

were to commemorate Israel's dwelling in temporary habitations, Levit. xxiii. 43. The exercise of the eighth day was an expression of thankfulness, Deut. xvi. 13, 14; and though thus distinct in their ends, and in some measure in their exercises, yet, being at the same time as to commencement and continuance, they are joined together, Deut. xvi. 13. One end of service, though not of signification, was to supply the priests; and, for this purpose, none were to appear empty; servants being included, in Deut. xvi. 16, 17, which showed that they had more allowed them than food and raiment. Perhaps the dwelling in booths typified the incarnation of Christ, John i. 14, which was for the Gentiles as well as for the Jews; and the boughs typified his reign, Ps. xcvi. 12, in which Gentiles were to share, v. 10, when he should come who would judge, v. 13. Ps. xcvii. 1, and Deut. xvi. 14, contain calls to rejoice; and, perhaps, the feast of trumpets typified the reign of Christ, Ps. xcv. 6.

13th, Its duration, Levit. xxiii. 41, which was until that which is typified did gladly arrive.

X.—The wood-offering, Neh. x. 34, ch. xiii. 31, in which the following things are comprehended:—

1st, Its name, which is expressed together with the occasion and manner in which it is recorded, viz. reformation among Israel, in the revival of some institutions, Neh. v. ch. xiii. 31, among which this institution is recorded, ch. x. 34, ch. xiii. 31.

2d, The time of the recording, which was the seventh month, ch. viii. 14, and the twenty-fourth day, ch. ix. 1; but of the date of the observance of this institution there is no mention here, only it is said to be recorded in the law, ch. x. 43, whence it behoved to have had its origin, Levit. xvi. 12, 17, ch. iii. 5, or ch. iv. 12. The manner of bringing the wood is not related here, but only the burning of it.

3d, The end of this offering, which was for the supplying of the altar whereon the wood was burnt, v. 34; a large supply was needed, Levit. vi. 9, 12, 13.

4th, The manner of the wood being brought, Neh. x. 34, by casting lots among the priests, Levites, and

people, by whom the wood was to be brought into the house of God, or the temple.

5th, Its frequency, which was yearly, "year by year," ch. x. 34, "times appointed," ch. xiii. 31,

XI.—The feast of dedication, John x. 22.

1st, Its name, the feast of dedication.

2d, The time of its observance, winter.

Of this feast, as to its appointment, occasion, time, continuance, or end, we have no information in the inspired volume, except that it was in winter, and a feast of dedication, which appears to have been in commemoration of some dedication. And since it was celebrated in winter, it could not have been in commemoration of the dedication of Zerubbabel's temple, Ezra vi. 15, 16, which was in the month Adar, in the spring; nor of Solomon's, 1 Kings viii. 2, which was in Tisri, in the autumn. From history it would appear that it was in commemoration of the purification of the temple and the altar from the pollution of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the month Chisleu.

XII.—Fasts, Zech. viii. 19, which may be comprehended in the following:—

1st, The time of observance of these respective fasts as recorded in their order, according to the regular succession of months. The first fast was in the fourth month, the second in the fifth, the third in the seventh, and the fourth in the tenth.

2d, The occasion of these respective fasts. The first mentioned, which was in the fourth month, was on account of the Chaldeans taking Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxv. 3, 4, Jer. lii. 6, 7. The occasion of the one in the fifth month was on account of the destruction and demolition of Jerusalem in the nineteenth year of the reign of the king of Babylon, 2 Kings xxv. 8—21, Jer. lii. 12—28. The one in the seventh month was on account of the murder of Gedaliah, 2 Kings xxv. 25, of which the date is given. The one in the tenth month was on account of the Babylonish army besieging Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxv. 1, 2, Jer. lii. 4, 5. These fasts, not being in the Divine institution as delivered to Moses, but

arising from after circumstances, and being all mentioned together, the nature of the fasting, moreover, being the same in all, I have classed them together, and not taken them separately, in the order of the months in which they were observed.

3d, The procuring cause, which was sin, 2 Kings xxiv. 3, 4, 20, Jerem. lii. 2, 3; and the cause of this sin is attributed unto Zedekiah, v. 1, in the filling up of the cup, 2 Kings xxiv. 3, 4, ch. xxiii. 26, 27, &c. The cause of all fasting in general is sin, whereby we incur the Divine displeasure, which is manifested by the Lord's hiding his face from, frowning upon, or leaving a person or a people to sin, by external exposure, or inward inclination, or by both, or by darkness as to duty, withholding the Divine favour in the wonted smiles of his face on the soul; or by expressions of Divine anger in any way of sin or suffering, either felt or feared; which marks will never be without a cause, for "He does not willingly afflict," Lam. iii. 33; and especially, such marks of Divine displeasure will never be without a cause in the person or people provoking him to leave them to sin; for this, in all its kinds, is directly contrary to his holiness, in which he is invariable; and hence, it is his constant language concerning sin, "O do not that abominable thing that I hate," Jer. xlv. 4. The leaving to sin is the heaviest of all afflictions, though often not felt as an affliction; and sin is also detrimental to others, in its influence by example, and often by ensnaring them to be an accomplice. When people fall into sin, it is not by the Lord's infusing the vitiated inclination; "God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man," James i. 13. It is only by his leaving them, and withdrawing all restraint, when they will have their own ways, Ps. lxxxi. 11, Rom. i. 21—24. In such a case, it is very inconsiderate and improper to say, as is often done, that it *pleased* the Lord to let such a one fall into sin. Pleasure implies delight, which the Lord cannot have in sin. He is not *pleased*, but *provoked*, and speaks in the language of regret, Ps. lxxxi. 13; and sorrow for sin, accompanied by fasting, is what is called for by the Lord, Isaiah xxii.

12, and is very reasonable and becoming in people, and acceptable to God, Ps. li. 17, whether as respects them individually, or jointly as a community, according to their circumstances of connexion, by being involved in that which is the cause. And even poor heathen Nineveh applied to fasting, and therein was approved of by the Lord, Jonah iii. 5—10.

4th, As to the time when fasting is called for, the circumstances in providence determine this. While the Word is complete and unalterable, and affords information as to the grounds of fasting, the varying circumstances of providence point out the time when this exercise is called for; which is upon any emergency of suffering or outbreking of sin, or of any solemn duty to be performed, or favour to be requested. And for direction and encouragement to this, we have several varied instances on record, Exod. xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9, 18, 25; Joshua vii. 6; Judges xx. 23, 26; 1 Sam. vii. 6; 9—14; 2 Sam. xii. 16, 21, 23; 1 Kings xxi. 29; 2 Chron. xx. 3, 14, 17—22; Ezra viii. 21, 23, ch. ix., ch. x.; Neh. i. 4, ch. ii.; Esther iv. 3, 16, ch. viii. 16; Jer. xvi. 8, 9; Daniel ix. ch. x.; Joel i. 14, ch. ii. 15, 16—27; Jonah iii. 5—10; Zech. viii. 19, ch. vii. 3, 5; Matth. vi. 16; Acts xiii. 2. How few persons; singly or jointly, mourn over their own sin, and that of predecessors or relations, graceless relations, or over the barrenness of the Church, or the want of Divine presence in ordinances, or for converting, sanctifying, and making fruitful in holiness; heavenly mindedness; humility, prayer, &c.!

5th, The complying with the calls of God in providence to this exercise is very important; and without this nothing may be expected but a continuance of the rod, unless he intend utter destruction. While it is God only that can bless means, it is our duty, on our part, to observe these means for this end. Disregard to God's hand in providence in general is wrong, and ought to be guarded against, Ps. xxviii. 5. Also, in trouble, seeking relief from creatures is wrong, Hosea v. 13; &c.; so are, likewise, seeking from God relief from suffering, but not from sin, Ps. lxxvi. 18 (which is often done), and from sin, when only feignedly, Ps.



lxxviii. 33, 36. Wrong motives often hinder success, Isaiah lviii. 4, Matth. xvi. 18, and are to be guarded against. The sooner the calls to fasting are observed by us, for ourselves, our relations, or the Church, the token is the better. While it is the language of the Lord in word and providence, Ps. l. 16, "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee," it is the language of a gracious soul, Ps. lxxxvi. 7, "In the day of my trouble I will call upon thee, for thou wilt answer me;" and Ps. xxvii. 8, "When thou saidest, Seek ye my face, my heart said unto thee, Thy face, Lord, will I seek." And while the passage, Hosea v. 14, 15, was an addition, until Israel was brought to say, as in ch. vi. 1, "Come and let us return unto the Lord," &c. so, "to whom shall a people go, but unto their God?" When the Lord has intended to bestow signal favour, he has led out the subject of it to much fervent prayer and seeking of himself; and when he is under hiding, people are uneasy, and concerned for the return of his presence, in the smiles of his face, Ps. lxxx. Esther iv. 16, 2 Sam. xii. 16, 20, Joel i. 13, Song iii. 1—4, Jer. xxix. 12, 13, but deadness is a sign of his being distant. Wallowing in sensuality, a thing wrong at any time, is peculiarly aggravating in such circumstances as those of the old world, Gen. vi. 11—13, &c. and is a presage and cause of judgment, Matth. xxiv. 38, 39, Job i. 18, 19. The Levite and his countryman, Judges xix. 22, were in mirth, or what people call enjoying themselves, while the condition of both, required humiliation; but, while their exercise was so very different, how humiliating was the end, v. 23—30, ch. xx! The inhabitants of Babylon were in a state of intoxication when their city was taken.

6th, The manner of observing the fast, should be by timeously laying aside business on the day preceding that set apart, and by being up early in the morning, if not up during the whole of the night. And in the exercise there should be, first, complete abstinence from worldly avocations, Levit. xvi. 29, ch. xxiii. 32, Isaiah lviii. 3. Second, abstinence from all sensual delight, even from such as would be allowable at other times; "afflicting the soul," Levit. xxiii. 27, Isaiah

lviii. 5; forbearing from costly ornaments in attire, *Exod. xxxiii. 4—6*, *Isaiah iii. 6*, *Joel i. 13*, *Deut. ix. 3*; (hence we frequently read of sackcloth;) forbearance from the marriage bed, *1 Cor. vii. 5*, *Joel ii. 16*. Yea, on the annual feast they denied themselves sleep during the night of the ninth of the month, *Levit. xxiii. 32*; forbearance from meat is also implied in afflicting the soul, *v. 27, 29, 32, &c.* and the very word, fasting, imports this, *Matth. iv. 2, ch. xv. 32, &c.* Paul and those that were with him fasted in this manner, *Acts xxvii. 9; 33*, *Jonah iii. 7*. In modern times, complete abstinence from meat is not considered necessary; but this may arise from slight, unaffecting views of sin; and although, through weakness of the frame of body, meat may be allowed, when the want would unfit for exercise, yet, in this case, all delicious things would be improper. From such, Daniel (*ch. x. 2, 3*.) did for three full weeks refrain, while, nevertheless, he did not altogether abstain. In the Divine institution, *Levit. xxiii. 27—32*, there is no mention of exemption to any, nor is there even in the account we have of poor Nineveh, *Jonah iii. 7*. Moses fasted forty days; herein, however, we have a type of Christ, and yet both are in so far to be imitated, though not to be equalled, by us. However, were there deep inward grief, this would pall the appetite, that it would neither require nor admit of gratification. Third, confession of sin, and affectionate considering what has been God's way to us, and ours to him, *Neh. ix. 7—37*; mourning, *Daniel ix. 4—15*; pleading, averting, *v. 16, 19, 30*, *Joel i. 8*, *Neh. i. 5—8*, *Joel ii. 17*. For this end reading is necessary to understand the cause of our distress, *Neh. ix. 3*, *Ps. xxv. 4*, *Jer. iii. 6, &c.*; with a consideration of God's providence as to the time, nature, and manner of his controversy with us; and all the circumstances, together with original sin, are to be viewed as the fountain-spring of the cause, as in *Ps. li. 5*, and the blood of Christ as the remedy. And there should be persevering application to a throne of grace, even when no controversy is pleaded by God; for this application to him in our difficulty proceeds upon the principle of our dependence, and is an eminent acknowledgment there-

of. This was a frequent exercise of the great head of the Church, Ps. xxii. 1—21, Ps. lxxxix. 26 ; especially near his death, Matth. xxvi. 38—44, ch. xxvii. 46, Fourth, a turning from sin, in all its kinds, to duty in all its parts. When there is a common calamity, the relieving of the poor is a part of our duty, Isaiah lviii. 6, 7. Times of general suffering are straitening to the poor, arising from hardness of heart, and love to the world of persons of rank, which latter is, indeed, also a part of the procuring cause of suffering, as well as the instrumental means. If a knowledge of the cause of controversy be not obtained at first, there should be tenderness according to knowledge, and a waiting and looking for a discovery of the cause, considering it for sin past or continued in, in reference to the precepts of the law or the institutions of grace, either by ourselves, our relations, or the Church. Great care also is necessary against reserve, Ps. xxxii. 3, 4, as upon a free confession God had forgiveness ready in his hand, v. 5 ; and for deliverance, the eye should be turned towards God in his new-covenant character, and it is only ~~an~~ evangelical view of him herein that can lead the soul to mourn aright. There should also be a pleading for turning, Ps. lxxx. 3, 7, 14, Jer. xxxi. 18, Ps. lxxiv. 1—4, Ps. lxxxv. 7. For encouragement, consider the acceptableness of the fast to the Lord, Zech. viii. 19, and his promise to make it, on the respective months, to be joy and gladness. Consider also the instances formerly referred to of the success of application to him, especially by fasting ; and his unwillingness to execute judgments, Hosea xi. 8 ; and the broad foundation on which to plead, Joshua vii. 9, " What wilt thou do unto thy great name," and that, whatever be the provocation, " the Lord will not forsake his people for his great name's sake," 1 Sam. xii. 22 ; plead also his promise, Hosea, xiv. 4, 5, and consider his readiness to forgive, Ps. xxxii. 5 ; and all the aggravation of sin against light, love, obligation, resolutions, promises, &c. ; and this will lead the soul to view the magnifying mercy, and the faithfulness of God revealed for giving deliverance, and still to wait until the Lord in the return of his favour shall come, according

to all the varied circumstances of our case, and the extent of our need. How gracious are the words, "Who is a God like unto thee?" &c. Micah vii. 18, 19; and where there is "weeping and supplication," because the children of Israel "have perverted their way," Jer. iii. 21, his language is, v. 22, "Return ye backsliding children and I will heal your backsliding." Whatever be the desert of a person or of a people, while it is only the Lord that can recover them, by bringing them to comply with his calls, so, when they are brought to this, there is a sounding of mercy in his bowels meeting them on their return from backsliding, Levit. xxvi. 40—42; Jer. xxxi. 18—20; giving deliverance, Hosea xi. 8; direction, Isaiah l. 10, support according to the varied case, Isaiah xlii. 16, Lam. iii. 57, &c.; and when guilt is in the case, "there is forgiveness with God that he may be feared," Ps. cxxx. 4; and, on account of forgiveness for the past, to continue in sin in the future, is what no gracious soul will desire. When success is obtained, what the exercise should be, and will be, it is scarcely necessary to mention, for thankfulness leads to praise for recovery, and even for the means employed to this end, Ps. cxix. 67, 68, Ps. lxxxvi. 12, 13, Ps. xciv. 12. For deliverance the Israelites "sang his praise," Ps. cvi. 12, as in Exod. xv. 1—21; yet, this being only temporal deliverance, it was soon forgotten, many of them being altogether destitute of saving grace. But when the deliverance to the person or people consists in recovery from sin, and, therefore, reaches the soul, what holiness, humility, watchfulness against temptation, prayer, delighting in God, and confidence in him, love to his word, to his ordinances of grace, his day, and his people, and running sweetly and swiftly in the way of all his commands, are then exhibited! And in order to be brought to this, Ps. lxxx. 4, 7, with many other parts of the word should be pleaded, which are recorded for the purposes of magnifying God for what he did, and encouraging us to look for the same, which will lead us still to wait on him, Ps. cxxx. 5—8, Ps. xl. 1—5. While all deliverance is from the Lord, and for an end becoming himself, Ps. cv. 45, issuing, as I have already said, in holy thankfulness, praise, and

obedience, more is necessary than an external revelation of his gracious character in his readiness to forgive. The Lord needs, in addition to this, to put forth the hand of grace, as in conversion; hence the Church often pleads, Ps. lxxx. 3, 7, 19, Ps. lxxxv. 4, "Turn us," and Ephraim pleads, Jer. xxxi. 18, "Turn thou me." The spouse pleads for being "drawn," Song i. 4, and in Ps. lxxx. 14, the Church pleads, "Return, we beseech thee, O Lord of hosts," which was a prayer to God to visit her with his grace.

All departure is on our part, and though God might justly leave us for ever, and draw out his anger to all generations, Ps. lxxxv. 5, Jer. iii. 5, 12, yet he has said that he will not do it, nor be "always wroth," Isaiah lvii. 16; "will not always chide," Ps. ciii. 9. When Ephraim had gone astray, and was ill exercised under the correcting rod, Isaiah lvii. 17, the Lord says, v. 11, "I have seen his ways and will heal him." When Israel had gone far astray, Hosea i. 9, ch. ii. 2—8, the Lord promised to allure him, v. 14, and to do this in a way worthy of himself, v. 16, 17, 19, 20, "in righteousness, and in judgment, and in loving-kindness, and in mercies;" and by saying to them who were not worthy to be owned, "Thou art my people," and making them reply, "The Lord is my God."

In doing this, the Lord stirs up the subjects of his healing grace to a consideration of their condition, inducing them to observe how it was with them in times past as compared with the present, and making them think on former loving-kindness vouchsafed by the Lord, and enjoyed by them (as Isaiah lxiii. 7,) in the manifestation of himself, in his holiness and grace, in majesty sweetly combined, which made them delight in his sanctuary; as Ps. lxviii. 24, "They have seen thy goings, O God, even the goings of my God, my King, in the sanctuary." The satisfying nature of this makes them say, Ps. xxvii. 4, "One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in his temple;" and, Ps. lxiii. 2, "To see thy power and thy glory so as I have seen thee in the sanctuary." In the former

of these two passages there is a "beauty" desired to be seen, and in the latter a "power and a glory." This view is desired by the Psalmist, under the consideration of God as his God. In Ps. xxvii. 1, he says, "The Lord is my light and my salvation," with experience of this in the past, v. 2; and in confidence for the future, v. 3, 5, 6; and a concern that God would not hide, v. 7—10, &c. A view of God in the same relation is also expressed, Ps. lxiii. 1, "my God," which led David early to seek him; this, with the other, show the intensity of the Psalmist's desire. And in v. 5. he speaks of his soul's being satisfied as with marrow and fatness, and his mouth singing praises with joyful lips; which shows that, from experience he knew something real, solid, and substantial, in the enjoyment of God; and it is the want of this experience that makes people seek after pleasure from things that say, It is not in me; and neglect to seek it where it is to be found. The beauty, power, and glory referred to, were just that revelation which God makes of himself in his new-covenant character as the God of salvation, manifesting his excellencies in their exercise as all-harmonizing; and especially his holiness and love that shed an amiable lustre over the whole of his character and way. The view in Ps. xxvii. was desired by the Psalmist when he was in trouble, and that in Ps. lxiii. when he was in exile, as was also that in Ps. xlii. where similar exercise is expressed. It may be that the subjects of God's grace are made to remember the delight that they formerly had in being enabled to read God's eternal, electing, fruitful, unchangeable, and everlasting love, in the out-goings of it in their conversion, giving them ground to say, "But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace to reveal his Son in me," Gal. i. 15, 16; and to have admiring views of the sovereignty, freeness, and riches of this love, and humbling views of themselves in their pedigree, extraction, and condition by nature, in a moral and spiritual point of view. "Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite," &c. Ezek. xvi. 3—5. "A Syrian ready to perish was

my father," Deut. xxvi. 5. "Children of wrath even as others. But God who is rich in mercy for his great love wherewith he loved us," Eph. ii. 3, 4. They are led to think upon the delight that the Lord showed in the manifestation of this love, as well as on the delight that they had in the enjoyment of it, by his bringing them to comply with the exhortation in Ps. xlv. 10, 11, "Hearken, O daughter, and consider and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house; so shall the king greatly desire thy beauty." They are led to think also on that power that opened their eyes to see a beauty in Christ that they saw not before; and thus they see, that, besides the external revelation of him in the word and ordinances, an internal revelation is absolutely necessary, Gal. i. 15, 16. They are led, moreover, to remember what a beauty, power, and glory they were made to see in the plan of redemption, in its device and execution. They remember that they were led to think on and admire the love that provided Christ as the honourable channel for the egress of this plan in all its fruits, by the Holy Spirit's coming to them while they were under guilt and in filth, and regenerating them, and leading them in the exercise of faith to see Christ, and to embrace him, whereby they came to be actually justified. And, the righteousness of Christ being complete affords a solid stable ground for the exercise of this love, keeping them in a state of favour with the ever-running continued communication of grace, by the abiding of the Holy Spirit.

How have they thought on the Divine holiness, sovereignty and wisdom in the symmetry and frame of the Church which God has chosen for the exercise of this love; and where, for this end, he delights to dwell, Ps. cxxxii. 13—16, which makes his Church and her ordinances to be desired by those who, having tasted that the Lord is gracious, are desirous also that others might partake! Ps. xxxiv. 8. And, besides, it being the duty of all within reach to attend on ordinances, what encouragement for all to wait and look for that grace which, in a new-covenant way, arises from the consideration of the very design of these ordinances, and of God in Christ.

Prov. viii. 17—21, delighting to glorify himself in the salvation of men by means of them, whence grace so freely and copiously flows as a never-failing bountiful spring. "O, did men know!" John iv. 10.

Even under the Old-Testament dispensation, how worthy of God were all the ordinances, and fitted for the designed end, and effectual for the conveyance of eternal life in its beginning and increase, while the solid hope of its completion and duration gives comfort, with corresponding fruit of holiness in life, and delight in divine enjoyment, unsatisfied when this is interrupted, as Song iii. 1—4; making earnest to obtain, and careful to maintain, v. 5; and all this not only when there is clearness of an interest in him whose favour was so much desired, but, even under his hiding having high honourable thoughts of him, ch. v. 9—16, experiencing sublime soul-solace and repast, ch. i. 13. "He shall lie all night betwixt my breasts," while his heart-thoughts are expressed, ch. iv. 7—9, &c. What reciprocal intercourse is in this Song related betwixt him who is the flower of heaven and earth, the plant of renown, in whom dwell created and uncreated glory in perfection, and those who were by his grace what he describes them to be! How unbecoming to speak lightly of that dispensation which had God as its author, and concerning those who enjoyed which, it is said, "Happy art thou, O Israel who is like unto thee?" Deut. xxxiii. 29. This is done by some who come far short of the divinely-inspired recorded exercise of saints under that dispensation; yea, by some who seem to be strangers to a participation of the same water of life as it runs in New-Testament ordinances, and this is shown by the want of conformity and love to Christ, which also leads to desire and to delight in communion with him, and to be thinking much about him, and to obey his commands as a solid mark of love, 1 John i. 6, 7, John xiv. 15, without which all expectation of interest in him, or communion with him, is but enthusiastic delusion.

They remember what delight they had in thinking on the relation in which the Church stands to the Lord, and what he has done for her, Isaiah liv. 5—17, Ps. xlii. 1—11, Ps. xlviii. 1—14, and that he made her



to say, v. 9, "We have thought of thy loving-kindness, O God, in the midst of thy temple;" corresponding to which is Ps. xcvi. 8—12. This was in her defence. How have they thought also on what he has said of the desirable enlargement of the Church, and of the increase of her members, Isaiah xliii. 6, ch. lx. 3—11, 16; requiring prayer for this, Ps. lxxii. 15, 16, Isaiah lii. 1—7, Ps. lxxxvii. 5, 6. O what has divine love already done in the bringing in of the apostate sons of men! What a share in the exercise of this love in the ingathering of men did the Church of Scotland enjoy in former times, by many sweetly singing here, and now above, constituting a part of that fair multitude who sing to God and the Lamb! In his erection of her, so agreeable to his word, at the Reformation, for which she was by the Church in other lands reckoned the first for purity; and by his presence gathering in so many to himself, the Lord showed his delight in her, and his favour to our land, which was also shown by his taking her into a covenant-relation in a State capacity. Indeed, singular favour was shown to our lands in God's sending the gospel, at so early a period after the ascension of Christ, to us at so great a distance from the original seat of the Church in Judea. And though for sin we have had, and still have, many marks of divine anger in various judgments, spiritual and temporal, unnoticed and disregarded by us (among which judgments many have been taken from our land to other lands during the late war, and have suffered therein); yet lenity to our land has been shown in that therein we have never heard the shout of the warrior with confused noise, nor seen the garments rolled in blood. The Lord's presence and delight in the ordinances of our Church showed the agreeableness of these to his word, which contains a copy of his will; and it was while she strictly adhered to these in practice, that she had his presence making her flourish; and it was when she practically departed from them, that she decayed, although she has never avowedly apostatized. His taking her into that covenant-relation showed his design not to cast her off, nor to let her utterly depart; and such was the nature of the

covenant in the view of those who engaged in it in the confidence of the realization thereof to future generations, and also of many who renewed this relation, and who lived and died in confidence thereof. Yea, I may use the plural, and say covenants, because there were the national covenant, and also the solemn league and covenant, which last strengthened the relation, and was a means designed and calculated for carrying the end into effect. According to this relation and claim God has always acted in keeping his covenant-hand in our lands, and about the Church of Scotland; the relation remaining indissoluble though she has decayed in the beauty of fruitfulness in conversions, and in holiness of life; and the boar has come from the forest, and the wild beast from the field, to destroy that which the Lord planted with his own right hand. It is the concern of saints not only to have Christ for themselves, but also to have him brought back to their mother's house, to the chambers of her who conceived or brought them forth, Song iii. 4. Were there only a more affecting sense in the hearts of individuals of Christ's partial departure from themselves and from their mother's house, inviting him to return to it would be a token—a certain token, for good; and it is only the Lord that can stir them up to this necessary exercise. While the flourishing of the Church was by the Lord's presence with her in her constitution, his returning will not be to break down what he erected and countenanced, and which is agreeable to his word, but it will be to bring her to her first love in the practice of that from which she has departed; in strictness of government, purity, spirituality, simplicity, and sweet reverential solemn gravity; in the dispensation of her ordinances, with a more careful waiting on these, making them fruitful for the conversion and edification of men, shown by holiness in life; and particularly in a respect to the Sabbath, the maintaining of family worship, and the training up of families in the fear of God, all which are so mournfully neglected. The propriety of her constitution arises from its Divine institution, never by the Lord reversed, and its fitness still as much as of old. It is true that the Lord could support his Church

without the State; but it is as true that he could have done this of old. He could likewise support man without the latter doing any thing for his own support, yea, or even receiving it when it is provided. What could the Lord not do that is not morally wrong? But it is a sufficient reason for us that he has seen meet to appoint and to act otherwise; and the propriety of state-authority in behalf of the Church is very obvious to an uncontaminated mind. Though the Church is founded on the rock Christ, so that the gates of hell cannot prevail against her, yet he has seen meet to appoint and to use the authority of the State as a means under himself for this end, as really as he has appointed man to eat, and to keep out of danger, in order to the preservation of his life. Christ said, Matth. x. 12—31, "Fear not, the very hairs of your head are numbered;" yet also, v. 23, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another." The devil tempted Christ to neglect the proper means for the preservation of his life, and made the promise that it should be preserved a reason for this, "Cast thyself down from hence, for it is written, He shall give his angels charge," &c. Luke iv. 9—11, Ps. xci. 11. But that was no reason for Christ's complying with it to satisfy the malignity whence alone such a requisition could have proceeded, so neither is it a reason for the Church's throwing away state-authority, which is an incision of her head, Prov. viii. 15, 16, under himself, and does no more deprive him of his headship than the ministers of the sanctuary with their delegated authority do so. Indeed, both the offices, with their respective duties, are a part of that honour bestowed upon Christ, Eph. i. 22; in which honour of dominion the different orders of angels are included, v. 21, Philip. ii. 10; and which honour is a part of the reward of his exaltation, v. 6—9. In this dominion he is the image of the invisible God, Col. i. 15, to which he had a claim by his creating power, v. 16. In this universal dominion of Christ, though he is not a head of life and substance to angels, as he is to the Church constituted men, yet he is a head of dominion over them, employing holy angels in acts of willing obedience for the

service of his Church, and bounding, overruling, and restraining sinning angels for the purposes of his glory and the good of his Church, to which all things are made subservient, even irrational and inanimate, as well as rational creatures—men, good and bad, as well as angels, either by consent or constraint. To deny this, would be to say that the authority of Christ and the privileges of the Church were now abridged. The insufficiency of the connexion between the Church and State now to keep the former from declension, is no more an argument against the Divine appointment and utility of that connexion than of old, or than the inability of the ministers of the sanctuary to keep from declension is an argument against their office. Both have duties, respectively contributing to this end, and declension is in part the fruit of neglect. The serviceableness of state-authority to the Jewish Church under the old, and to the Church of Scotland under the present dispensation, appears by its keeping the latter from that into which others have fallen in this and in other lands, and in preventing the profanation of the Sabbath by those who do not belong to her. O, what is the lamentable condition of France in this respect, and of America, where also the Church is divided into a multitude of sects, contrary to unity, uniformity, and the order required, and all these sects as much opposed to one another as to the Word of God! Yea, the religion of some of them is such as we would think it impossible for the mind of man to devise under the light of the Word; all-dishonouring to God and ruinous to men. The perversion of the kingly power, under the former or the present dispensation, is no argument against the institution, propriety, and validity of that power, any more than the perversion and abuse of their power by ministers of the sanctuary, under either dispensation, is an argument for laying aside the ministerial office. The want of the anointing of kings (a practice now laid aside) cannot be an argument against the continued validity of their office any more than the want of the anointing of the ministers of the sanctuary (for they are not now anointed as of old, nor have they their commission immediately from Christ as the first

had) would imply the nullity of the office of the latter. The anointing of kings appointed by God, and the kind of ointment used, with its ends, and the propriety of the practice being laid aside, I at present pass, until if the Lord will, I shall give an exhibition of kingly power in its origin, nature, extent, use, and continued validity under the present economy in all the extent of its original institution, not leaving so much as a shadow of room for doubt, and vindicating the Church of Scotland from the present attacks; and from doing which I have been hitherto deterred by this publication, and have merely given these occasional hints.

When by her frame and constitution, and the Divine presence, the Church of Scotland was famed among the reformed churches in other lands, how much was there of the exercise of saints in her, thinking on the Lord's conduct towards the Church during her whole history, and towards themselves, with a concern for her welfare! But, alas! from the little spiritual sense we entertain of the partial withdrawment of the Divine presence from the Church, and the mournful consequences of her having, in a great measure, dry breasts, and a miscarrying womb, as is the case with all denominations, the Lord is sinned away, and we are content that it should be so. However, as it has been in times past with regard to life, holiness, unity, and love, so it will yet again be, and more abundantly. As the Lord's coming to our land at first was sovereign, so nothing can make him alter, Zeph. iii. 17. He resteth in his love, and none can prevent his returning to and reclaiming his Church, and removing the causes of his departure, and to the doing of this he seems to be on the way. To prevent him, the combined, repeated, diversified attempt of Balak and Balaam would be but in vain, Num. xxii.—xxiv.; and Balaam would be made to say, "How shall I curse whom the Lord has blessed? or, How shall I defy whom the Lord has not defied? Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel!" And yet this did not prevent him from persisting for the same end, after another plan, by a stratagem for

the seduction of the people, ch. xxv, that involved him in deserved ruin, ch. xxxi. 8, 16.

The work of redemption is the chief of all God's ways, and it is in the Church that he carries on this work; and what would be for her hurt is resented by him. What I would here recommend is prayer for up-building, Ps. cii. 13—25, and hope; with the rest of the exercise of those who think how it was with themselves and with Zion, lamenting after the Lord.

They remember what a delight they had in the regular return of the Sabbath and public ordinances, and also in reading and prayer every day, besides secret prayer evening and morning, rising by night to it, and sometimes being employed therein during the whole night; and the relief they thereby found from burdens concerning themselves, their relations, and the Church; and what delight they experienced in spiritual meditation when opportunity for reading or prayer could not be had.

They remember being enabled not only to choose God as their portion, but also his statutes as their heritage for aye, Ps. cxix. 111, 128, and to esteem his precepts concerning all things to be right, and also finding Wisdom's ways to be pleasantness and peace, Prov. iii. 17; and that great peace have they who love thy law, and nothing shall offend them, Ps. cxix. 165. They remember, after being converted by the Word, Ps. xix. 7, experiencing its usefulness, v. 7—10, and that what it reveals and enjoins is more to be desired than gold, yea, than much fine gold, and sweeter than honey, and the honey-comb, v. 10.

Though, being the subjects of saving grace, they continue to have a reverential awe of God, and a respect for every thing that bears the impress of his holiness and authority, and an aversion to sin, yet they see that they have not that tenderness and alacrity in obedience that formerly they had, nor yet so much delightful enjoyment. They see that the Sabbath is not so refreshing, nor are public ordinances so delightful or profitable; yea, neither the Bible itself, which shows the alteration to be in themselves. They see also that prayer is less frequent, and that they have not the communi-

cation in return which they formerly had. They are led to see the Lord's anger herein, in his hiding from, frowning upon, and deserting them, and the consequences in their barrenness and unfruitfulness; and they become very uneasy and grieved, saying, Isaiah lxiii. 17, "O Lord, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways, and hardened our heart from thy fear?" They also see his anger in adverse dispensations as the effect and evidence of his being displeased, Levit. xxvi. 24, Jonah iv. 6, Ps. lxxx. 5, 6, 13, 16, which adverse dispensations are there all traced up to the Lord as the efficient cause, though the instrumental cause was complicated, while their sin was the procuring cause of all.

In his process the Lord leads them to enquire into the cause of his anger, and earnestly to endeavour to remove it; their exercise therein being accompanied with much reading of the word, prayer, Jer. xxix. 12, 13, and hearing what the Lord will speak in a way of reproving, in order to his speaking peace, Ps. lxxxv. 8. Herein they are led to see, that through the want of tenderness and watchfulness as to the maintaining of a good frame, by cherishing the motions of the Holy Spirit by spiritual meditation and secret prayer; by giving way to vain thoughts, and vain company of people and books; and by worldliness and conformity to the world often in a declining time—self-will, and many other things imperceptibly hardening them,—they have rebelled against, and vexed the Holy Spirit, Isa. lxxiii. 10, (against which they are cautioned, Eph. iv. 10.), and that thus they have sinned the Lord away.

All the ordinances of Divine grace being for the conveying of grace, they have the promise of the Divine presence, Exod. xx. 24, "In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." Some ordinances are simple, as reading, praying, preaching, and praise. Some are complex, as baptism, the Lord's Supper, and also the ordinance of fasting, of which three the former four constitute a part.

Of all grace Christ being the purchaser, Eph. i. 13, 14, 1 Peter i. 19, Rev. v. 9, the repository, Colos. i. 19, Prov. viii. 18—21, John i. 16, Acts iv. 12, the dispenser, John xvii. 2, Acts ii. 33, John x. 28, Prov.

viii. 20, 21, Acts v. 31; yea, "The brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person," Heb. i. 3, and John i. 14, "whose glory was beheld as the glory of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth;" having grace in his person; grace in his heart, and grace in his hand; by his presence in ordinances men are made spiritually alive by regeneration, and thereby have begun conformity to him, and a desire for its completion; and then are more enlivened, refreshed, delighted, transformed, and invigorated by holding communion with him; after all of which it is the nature of grace to lead them to aspire. Besides the forementioned instituted ordinances (each of them for its respective part in the common uniform end of all), spiritual meditation, and, when expedient, spiritual conversation also greatly contribute, Ps. lxxvii. 12. And this conversation may be either occasional, or stated, as in prayer meetings, as expediency renders proper; yea, it is said of the man that meditates on the law or word of God day and night, that he shall be very verdant and flourishing, like a tree planted by the rivers of water, the leaf of which never fades, Ps. i. 2, 3; and that whatsoever he doeth shall prosper, as, Deut. xxviii. 8, connected with obedience, v. 1—14, which is the aim of the man that so meditates; and his exercise extends also to the duties of his calling, which are likewise enjoined by the word, "Be not slothful in business, but fervent in spirit, serving the Lord," Rom. xii. 11. And wisdom is required in keeping every duty in its proper place; on doing this prosperity much depends. The due observation of duty has a beauty in it, and in the most menial parts thereof the Divine presence may be looked for, according to the general current promise, Gen. xxviii. 15. "And behold I am with thee," &c. for directing, supporting, sanctifying, enabling to recognise the Lord in his new-covenant relation, design, and administration; and for giving hope of another state of things when the present shall have passed away. And it is by meditation that communion with Christ may be maintained, when special instituted ordinances cannot be had, and it is through want of this meditation and a lively frame that there is less desire for ordinances, and less



benefit enjoyed from them, which also make opportunities, especially with respect to secret prayer, sometimes to be neglected. Besides the neglecting of the ordinances of grace, there may be the neglecting of some relative duty respecting families, parents, or the Church; yea, a duty, the opportunity for doing which, sometimes when gone, returns no more for ever, and also causes a decay in grace.

While every opportunity afforded for waiting on Christ in these ordinances is a call to hold communion with him, this world and its things, that ruin many for eternity, may be very hurtful even respecting those who have tasted that the Lord is gracious, not only by occupying their attention, but by drawing away their heart from him who is justly entitled to the undivided affection of his saints, causing a decay in grace, and making it give way to ease and sloth in spiritual things, all which are displeasing to Christ, and injurious to themselves.

In Song iv. 16, the spouse invites the "blowing of the wind," or influences of the Spirit, to quicken her graces that she may have wherewith to entertain Christ. In ch. v. 1, Christ says, "I am come," and invites to partake, and by the opportunity afforded, and perhaps in addition to this, by the acting of his spirit on her heart (called knocking), and by the sweet heart-moving expressions in his invitation: 1st, Of tender delicate relation, "My sister;" 2d, Of affection, "My love;" 3d, Of chastity, "My dove;" 4th, Of purity, "My undefiled;" she knew that it was the voice of her beloved calling to communion, whereby her heart was kept waking as to a knowledge and sense thereof, while yet she wanted that liveliness in affection to make her comply. "I sleep," she said, during the enforcement of his call, in its urgency, which arose from the consideration of his condition, waiting until his "head was filled with dew, and his locks with the drops of the night." It is called night from her condition being called sleep, v. 2, and further, from her excuses, v. 3, "I have put off my coat, how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them?" Still Christ continued waiting, and by his renewed working on her heart, which is called a "putting of his hand in by the hole

of the door," her "bowels" or affections were moved for him, v. 4. Upon this she "rose up," or made way for holding communion, in the doing of which, from a consideration of his relation and his design, and from experience of the past, and expectation of the future, there was something refreshing and regaling to her, expressed by, "My hands dropped with myrrh, and my fingers with sweet smelling myrrh, upon the handles of the lock," v. 5. But by her delay, when she at length came to hold communion, she found that he, her beloved, had withdrawn himself and was gone; and though he then spoke, v. 6, it was not inviting, as v. 2, nor an actual communion as she desired; but it was in reproof of her delay, making her think and feel a relenting and regretting of soul at her conduct upon her unkindness. And when she sought him she could not find him; when she "called him," that is, called upon him, he gave no answer, but left her to encounter ill treatment from the watchmen and the keepers of the walls, as a reproof; notwithstanding which treatment, she gave a very honourable, exalted account, and description of him, showing what her thoughts of him were, even under his hiding, and her desire for his return. Ch. vi. 4, shows the eximious and the nature of grace in her, leading her to be unsatisfied without Christ, and her acknowledgement of her unkindness and blame, ch. v. 2. New subjects of healing grace, upon a retrospect of their lives, will find something of this case and exercise of the spouse to have been theirs. They will remember having neglected opportunities during the day; and that when they came to read and pray, Christ's presence was not enjoyed. They will see that when they have neglected to rise by night to pray, or early in the morning, his presence was greatly withdrawn, or perhaps from this circumstance an opportunity was gone, as a reproof; and if this course be continued in, deadness will be the certain issue. A view of this, with other marks of Divine anger, will make them very uneasy.

In Ps. lxxx. 3, 4, the church says, "Turn us again, O God, and cause thy face to shine, and we shall be saved. O Lord God of hosts, how long wilt thou be angry against the prayer of thy people?" In this

psalm is implied a condition of 'uneasiness which she was in, her sense of the cause thereof, and her concern for deliverance, which was to be by her being turned in her members; and this implied that they had gone astray and were wrong, and that the Lord was right. It also implied that they were sensible what would make them right, viz.—their being turned, and the removing of the grounds and effects of his anger, and his causing his face to shine, as the effect and evidence of his anger being turned away. For the doing of this they put the case into his own hands by prayer, v. 3, 7, 19, three times, which implies their earnestness, and that they could not turn themselves, but that he could; yea, that he would, by the stirring up of his strength, v. 2, while that wherein their sense of their case in being ill consisted, is expressed through the subsequent part of the psalm, with a request, v. 14, "return, we beseech thee, O God of hosts; look down from heaven and behold and visit this thy vine." In Ps. lxxiv. 1, 2, they, in dealing with him, claim a relation, "the sheep of thy pasture;" "thy congregation which thou hast purchased of old; the rod of thine inheritance which thou hast redeemed; this mount Zion wherein thou hast dwelt," and "thy sanctuary," v. 7. From v. 3—10, they complain and plead, v. 11, "Why withdrawest thou thy hand, even thy right hand? pluck it out of thy bosom;" ascribing former deliverance to him in the character of God and King. In Isaiah lxiii. 11—15, the prophet recalls to mind what was the Lord's conduct of old, and then improves this in application, v. 15, 16. In Ps. xc. 13—17, "Return O Lord, how long? and let it repent thee concerning thy servants. O satisfy us early with thy mercy, that we may rejoice and be glad all our days," &c. In Daniel ix. 17, "Cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate, for the Lord's sake." Considering their sin as the cause of their calamity they pray, Ps. lxxix. 8, "Remember not against us former sins." And considering their unworthiness to be owned, they plead, v. 9, for him to help "for the glory of his name." In recovering from backsliding, his name is glorified, first in his grace, in its power, and freeness in healing and pardoning, as the means for the glorifica-

tion of his name; secondly, in the person's after conduct by a life of holiness, as the effect of the former. How encouraging is Hosea xiii. 9, "Thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thine help."

Sometimes the Lord comes more suddenly, as Ps. cxxxviii. 3, "In the day that I cried thou answeredst me, and strengthenedst me with strength in my soul." Sometimes he comes more slowly, Ps. xl. 1, "I waited patiently for the Lord;" however, he then heard, "and he inclined unto me and heard my cry." Sometimes his coming in, turning again the captivity of the Church, is like "streams of water in the south," Ps. cxxvi. 4, so sudden and unexpected that her members in their feats are like "men that dream," v. 1, 2. His continuing people in suffering is to give them a farther view of their sin, and to lead them into earnest application to the blood of Christ for deliverance, which, when obtained, is the more sweet to them, leading to humbling views of themselves, and exalted views of Divine grace, whereby sin is mortified, and grace increased. However long he may delay, it is the language of a gracious soul, "I will wait upon the Lord that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him," Isaiah viii. 17; "The Lord is good to those that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh for him," Lam. iii. 5. It is good for a man that he should both hope, and quietly wait for, the salvation of the Lord, v. 26. The Lord thus "allures and brings him into the wilderness, and speaks comfortably unto him," and gives him "vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a door of hope," Hosea ii. 14.

While they may be saying, "Wilt thou draw out thine anger to all generations?" Ps. lxxxv. 5; "How long, Lord? Wilt thou be angry for ever?" Ps. lxxix. 5; "Will he reserve his anger for ever, and keep it to the end," Jer. iii. 5; how suitable and sweet are Ps. ciii. 9, "I will not chide always;" "I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth," Isa. lvii. 16; "I have seen his ways and I will heal him," v. 18; "I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins; return unto me for I have redeemed thee," Isaiah xlv. 22. "Only acknowledge thine

iniquity," Jer. iii. 12—14; "I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals," Jer. ii. 2; "Wilt thou not from this time cry unto me, My Father, thou art the guide of my youth?" Jer. iii. 4. And while he might say, "How shall I put thee among the children, and give thee a pleasant land, a goodly heritage of the hosts of nations?" v. 19, he just requires them to return, claiming him with a design never more to go astray,—“Thou shalt call me, My Father, and shalt no more turn away from me;” as Hosea ii. 16, “Thou shalt call me Ishi, and shalt call me no more Baali;” “Take with you words, and turn to the Lord; say unto him, Take away all iniquity and receive us graciously; so will we render the calves of our lips,” Hosea xiv. 2; “I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely, for mine anger is turned away from him,” v. 4; “I will be as the dew unto Israel,” &c. v. 5. Thus the Lord speaks peace, not to turn again to folly, Ps. lxxxv. 8, and shows that “there is forgiveness with him that he may be feared,” Ps. cxxx. 4, and therefore draws powerfully with an everlasting love, as with the bands of a man. If there still be delay, yet from his character and way, by promises and their realization, left on record for their encouragement, they see that his “salvation is near them that fear him,” Ps. lxxxv. 9, and may say, and do say, “As for our transgressions thou shalt purge them away,” Ps. lxxv. 3, which affords support. While they are uneasy for his returning, and removing causes, marks, and effects of his displeasure, as Ps. lxxiv. 1—4, he directs them to view him in the execution of his design, in which his way of going forth is said to be gradual, “prepared as the morning,” Hosea vi. 3; leading to wait, being encouraged from ch. xiv. 4, “I will heal their backsliding,” and that he will “redeem Israel from all his iniquities,” Ps. cxxx. 8, and will “arise and have mercy on Zion,” Ps. cii. 13. In Neh. ix. 38, there is free closing with God by a sealed covenant as the native result of their fasting exercise.

Amidst the varied and sometimes complicated troubles and difficulties which a person or a people may be in,

a gracious soul looks and applies to God for relief, Gen. xxxii. 9—12, Jonah. ii. 7, 2 Cor. xi. 17, Ps. ix. 1, 2, Ps. xxv. 15, Isaiah lxiii. 1, Jer. xiv. 7, 8, Ps. xxx. 2, 8; then joy, v. 11, 12, Ps. xxxv. 10, Ps. lxxvi. 12, 13.

This turning that is needed, promised, desired, pleaded for, expected, and experienced, the prophet expected, Micah vii. 19, 20, "He will turn again" in the conduct of his providence and grace. Herein there is; 1st, Divine power, irresistibly exerted by the operation of the Holy Spirit turning the heart, called "subduing iniquities;" 2d, The forgiveness of sin, called a "casting of it into the depths of the sea," signifying, his removing it out of his sight by an irreversible act of grace; 3d, "The ground upon which the prophet rested for this, which was the stability of God's purpose, promise, and covenant, he acting according to which is called, "the performing of the truth to Jacob, and the mercy to Abraham," which God had sworn unto these fathers from the days of old. Jacob was the last with whom the covenant was made, and Abraham the first, while Isaac was the intervening one, Gen. xii. 2, 3, ch. xiii. 14, 17, ch. xv. 4—18, ch. xvii. 1—21, ch. xxii. 17, 18, ch. xxviii. 13—15, Ps. cv. 6—11. The renewed intimation in succession, implies much opposition lying in the way to prevent it, and also the immutability of his counsel, promise, and covenant; and the oath on the part of God, Gen. xxii. 16, was for confirmation to Abraham, Heb. vi. 17, 18. From a view of this, Micah, ch. vii. 19, says, "He will turn again."

In the Divine conduct herein, there appears something full of amiable wonder and delight in God's not retaining his anger for ever, but delighting in mercy, pardoning, and healing in the recovery of men.

I.—This appears, when we consider what sin in general is—that it is the want of conformity in our nature and conduct to the nature and will of God, or the want of his image; the consequence of which is, the want of a true knowledge of him and of our relation to him; the want of admiration and esteem of him, love to

him, and delight in him ; the want of reverence towards him, regard for his authority, will, pleasure, delight, and glory ; and the want of a disposition of readiness to comply with his will. Sin implies also, not only ignorance of our relation to God, but also of our estate, as to guilt and filth, having in our nature and conduct that which is contrary to the nature and will of God, from which proceed erroneous views of him, of ourselves, and of sin ; alienation from him, aversion to his will, and a proneness to the transgression thereof, and the more so that his will forbidding sin is revealed or expressed, as Rom. vii. 5, before regeneration ; yea, leading to such complaints, as v. 15—24, after regeneration ; all which are shown in a numberless variety of ways, according to varying circumstances.

II.—This wonder appears when we consider the object against whom sin is in its being and exercise, viz. : God himself, and also the different respects in which it is against him, which may partially, in theory, be reduced to the following ; while, from the finity of our nature and our depravity by sin, there is much about it that remains undiscerned by us.

Sin is directly contrary to the nature of God, or to his holiness, which is the immaculate purity of his nature, and is essential to him, and not a quality in him, as it was in us when we were created, and which we have lost, though our immortal existence continues. This holiness has been manifested in the whole of his conduct and ways.

1st, His holiness was manifested in the making of angels and men holy, together with every thing in their condition conducive to the preservation of holiness in them, arising from the favour of God that they enjoyed, and from the manifest station of his excellencies in the beautiful symmetry, order, and harmony of the whole frame of the universe, calculated to fill with holy admiration, esteem, love, joy, awe, and delight, and leading to obedience and praise.

2d, His holiness was manifested by his expressing his delight in the whole creation, of which angels and men were a part ; yea, the chief part, they being the

product, not only of his natural perfections of wisdom, goodness, and power, but of his moral perfections, bearing his moral image, Gen. i. 27, of holiness in rectitude; v. 31, "And God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good," or, superlatively good, or, good without any defect in kind or degree, which was expressive of his finding in these the summit of his creating design, which was for them to show forth his glory, or perfection, and for him thence to derive complacential delight.

3d, His holiness was manifested in the end proposed by placing man in the garden, Gen. ii. 15—17, making his continuance in his good estate to depend upon his forbearance from only a certain tree; which, while it was a display of his sovereign authority, was at the same time expressive of Divine favour, and thus demanded from man a corresponding return of gratitude and obedience, and was also calculated to induce him thereto as a means to preserve him in innocence, holiness, and happiness, with all his seed. And, though standing without this transaction was not impossible, nor falling unavoidable, yet this placed the former on a more easy tenure, viz.—the not eating of one tree while he had superabundance besides; and his fall notwithstanding, showed his fallibility. Immutability is the property only of self-existent perfection.

4th, His holiness was manifested in the exercise of justice, in the infliction of judgment on sinning angels, as recorded Jude ver. 6, where their wilful sin is expressed, "They left their habitation." What was God's particular manner of transaction with the angels after their creation we are not informed, and therefore we do not, and cannot know. Their sin seems to have originated in pride, by one leading a vast multitude astray. For their sins they were cast out of heaven, and are reserved unto a future and a greater degree of punishment, in duration endless, without remedy or hope, 2 Peter ii. 4.

5th, In the continuance of the happiness of those who stood, making his favour to shine on them; and their continued standing, is a reproof to those who fell,



while the Divine conduct towards the latter is calculated to fill the obedient with awe.

3th, His holiness was manifested in a way of faithfulness and of justice (which are both relative attributes, and arise from his holiness), in the exercise of which there was displeasure shown against the sin of man in his fall, the effect of which, with the melancholy sense thereof entertained by Adam and Eve, are mentioned, Gen. iii. 7, and consisted in their being deprived of innocency, holiness, and happiness, which were replaced by shame and dread, v. 8, 9.

7th, His holiness was manifested in resenting the sin of man, by denouncing a curse against the seducer and the seduced, according to the order of the seduction. 1. Against the literal serpent, which was to go on its belly and eat dust, Gen. iii. 14, and to be cursed above every other beast, it having been the instrumental cause of sin, which brought the curse on the rest. 2. Against Satan in the serpent (called "that old serpent," Rev. xii. 9); Gen. iii. 15, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman," that is, though she, by seduction, did comply with thee, wherein there was enmity between thee and her in departing from the path of duty, holiness, and happiness, as if she had joined in league with thee, and for ever forsaken allegiance to me, yet I will put enmity between thee and her, and she shall dissent, retract, and regret: yea, she is sensible already of her fall and loss, ascribing the deceitful cause to thee, v. 13, "The serpent beguiled me and I did eat." Yea, this enmity in the woman seems to imply something more than a mere natural sense of her fall. It seems to imply the implantation of direct enmity, by bestowing on her special grace. However, this as yet was not the case, for the words run, "*I will* put," which referred to future time; and special grace leading to true repentance induces to confess, which at that time she did not, nor was there a foundation for it until immediately afterwards, in the design of grace. The other clause, "Thy seed," referred to the whole race of Satan and the principle possessed by them all. "Her seed," referred to Christ in his human nature, who, in union with his Godhead,

was, in compliance with the device of heaven, to have irreconcilable hatred and aversion to Satan and his work of seduction. Hence it is said of Christ, Ps. xlv. 7, "Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness;" and in accordance with this, Christ pursued a quarrel and war with Satan, in doing which, he, on his cross, triumphed over principalities and powers, and made a show of them openly; that is, in contrast with, and in opposition to, the sly, deceitful, hidden manner of Satan's seduction by the instrumentality of the serpent, and the misrepresentation of the effects of eating, Gen. iii. 1, 4, 5. The bruising of the head of the serpent by the seed of the woman, or Christ, was to be by his circumventing, counteracting, and overthrowing the design and the effect of Satan, in the seduction which occasioned the fall. This bruising includes three things, *first*, a retrieving or recovering of a part of the human race; and though the declaration was given forth by way of a curse against Satan, and directed to him, yet, as it was the beginning of the beaming of the Divine blessed design towards man, it has hence received the appellation of the first promise. Corresponding to this are, Ps. viii. 2, 1 John iii. 8, which just imply the bruising of the head of the serpent, or Satan who was in it. A *second* thing included in the bruising of the head of Satan by Christ will be, his passing sentence against him, and inflicting judgment on him, not only for his sin in his own fall, but also for his sin in the fall of man, and for all the after sin committed and occasioned by him among the human race, and the temptations against Christianity; which sentence will be pronounced openly at the judgment of the great day by God the Son, 2 Peter ii. 4; Jude, ver. 6, Matth. viii. 29, ch. xxv. 41, John v. 22, and very emphatical is the reason, "because he is the son of man," v. 27. A *third* thing will be, freeing the natural world from the impurity and disorder that it received by the fall of man, it being a part of his possession, and the curse having reached it as well as man, Isaiah li. 6, ch. lxi. 17, ch. lxvi. 22, Ps. cii. 26, 2 Peter iii. 10—13, Rev. xx. 11, ch. xxi. 1—5, Rom. viii. 20, 21. Yea, the work referred to, Ps. cii. 26, is to be by God the Son,

Heb. i. 10—12. Then a curse was denounced against the woman, Gen. iii. 16. Since all her posterity were by the fall deprived of holiness, not glorifying God, nor delightful to him, their formation in the womb and their coming thence were to be attended with pain to the mother, as a lasting effect and mark of the Divine displeasure at her sin in the fall. Then was a curse pronounced against the man, v. 17. The ground was to be cursed for his sake, and in sorrow was he to eat its produce all his days. And while it was to bring forth thorns and thistles, v. 18, he was to eat the herb of the field instead of the fruit of the garden whence he was expelled, v. 23. He was also doomed to hard fatiguing labour until death. While he became mortal in his body, his moral powers were totally depraved, and his intellectual greatly impaired. The intellectual by instruction and education may be improved, but the moral cannot be so by any thing less than the power that gave them existence restoring the image of God: although good education, as a means, may keep them from being so corrupted and vicious as they would otherwise be. After man was expelled from the garden, v. 24, he was never again to have access to it, by reason of the flaming sword, an emblem of Divine justice, and a mark of man's forfeiture of the favour of God, which had been so eminently enjoyed in the garden of bliss. On account of the demerit of sin, man comes, without favour and image of God, Gen. v. 3, yea, under his curse, disordered in soul and in body, into this now disordered world, that labours under heavy lasting marks of God's displeasure, obvious to every eye, and felt by every living thing, though little discerned by man; while they are liable to innumerable kinds of evil from their entrance into this world until their exit by death, which also is upon account of sin, yea, by the first sin of the one man, Rom. v. 12, and, ch. vi. 23, "The wages of sin is death," which is sometimes very awful in the dying person's own apprehension, and yet not less important, though disregarded while it comes to persons in all the variety of stages of life, filling the graves with persons of different sizes,

sometimes with the child not a span long, that has never opened its eyes on the sun.

The holiness of God is essential to him, and in it he is invariable; hence, he can no more cease from hating sin, than from existing. This hatred of it was shown in a way of displeasure, in expelling both those orders of creatures who had sinned from his favour, and from the places where it, by them respectively, was eminently enjoyed; and this was not only an expression of displeasure, but the necessary exercise of justice towards angels, and of justice and faithfulness towards man, which arose from his holiness, and was just the exercise of holiness in him as the rectoral governor.

8th, His holiness is manifested in the actual and gradual execution of his intimated design, in the bruising of the head of Satan, in the recovery of man by the seed of the woman, and in the bruising of the heel of the latter, Gen. iii. 15.

1. From the end in design, which is to restore holiness in man.

2. From the manner of accomplishing this end, restricting his intercourse in the execution of his design for the communication of his special favour to men, to be through the mediation and atonement of a substitute, promised, Gen. iii. 15; which atonement, as to its need and purity, was shadowed forth by sacrifices until the antitype came, who answered the requirements of holiness, in rig' teousness and justice, as the meritorious cause and honourable channel, by removing the flaming sword, Gen. iii. 24, that got a commission to awake against the Shepherd, the man that was the fellow of the Lord of hosts, that he might turn his hand upon the little ones, Zech. xiii. 7, Matth. xxvi. 31; coming and saving by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, Titus iii. 5, 6. Christ's fulfilling the law affords scope also for God's being just, and yet the justifier of the ungodly, Rom. iii. 25, 26. Here is not only a channel for the fruits of God's love to sinful men, but also for the exercise of his love upon men, constituted with his pleasure and delight, Ps. cxlix. 4.

3. From the external frame of his administration

at large, especially in his church, as the means according to his covenant-design, and the manifestation thereby made by the ordinances of his worship and grace; the precepts of his law with promises and threatenings, together with office-bearers for dispensing public ordinances, for restoring holiness to men, and for preventing sin; and this to be according to rule, by inflicting some of the threatened penalties, while others are inflicted by God himself; together with the declaration of his holiness and aversion to sin, all illustrative of Divine holiness as the source and the end in design.

From his holiness he takes pleasure in the place which he has consecrated wherein to put his name. This arises from the manifestation he has given of himself and his holiness as the end in view, Ps. cxxxii. 13; whence it is said that "holiness becometh his house for ever," Ps. xciii. 5. His presence, on account of his holy greatness, required reverence, and made the place, which otherwise was common, to be holy ground, Exod. iii. 5.

Though we have little information concerning the Church previous to Gen xvii. yet even from the beginning there were sacrifices directing the eye of men towards Christ; and by the revelation of the law, Exod. xx. and other institutions, what holiness did appear; and how illustrative of his holiness, and how well calculated to prevent sin and to promote holiness is Ex. xx. 5, 6, "Visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me," walking in the sinful footsteps of their fathers, Ez. xviii. 5—29; and though, from the relation subsisting between parents and children, and the tendency of the latter, on account of their depravity, to be led astray, there is a powerful influence in the evil conduct of the former to induce their offspring into their ways; and though, by parents neglecting their children, there is a great danger of their being ensnared by others, yet what encouragement is afforded for parents to endeavour to bring them up in the fear of God, and also for children to copy the example of godly fathers, and to keep from the ways of fathers who do evil; and also

for both parents and children to return unto God if they have gone astray, seeing he sheweth mercy unto thousands of them that love him and keep his commandments. And this is the uniform tenor of the Divine moral administration in all ages, necessarily arising from the constitution of God. It is on account of our blindness by sin that we see not the holy shining righteousness of God in all his ways, Jer. xxxi. 29, 30. Ezek. xviii. 25, Levit. xxvi. Deut. xxviii.; and the preservation of his written will and of office-bearers in the Church is for the same end still, Eph. iv. 11, 12. How expressive of his holiness and his aversion to sin are the following passages: "The holy one of Israel," Ps. lxxviii. 41; "The heavens are not clean in his sight, and his angels he charged with folly," Job. xv. 15, and iv. 18; "Dwelling in the light that no man can approach unto," 1 Tim. vi. 16; "There is none holy as the Lord," 1 Sam. ii. 2; "Glorious in holiness," Exod. xv. 11. Holiness is the perfection of his character in all his excellencies, natural as well as moral, even in his wisdom, goodness, and power:—"O Lord, my God, mine holy one, thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil," Hab. i. 12, 13; "For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness, neither shall evil dwell with thee. The foolish shall not stand in thy sight; thou hatest all the workers of iniquity," Ps. v. 4, 5; "Oh, do not this abominable thing that I hate," Jer. xlii. 4. How blameable in people to ascribe the cause of sin to the decree of God to free themselves, James i. 13. God is neither the author nor the approver of sin:—"The righteous Lord loveth righteousness, his countenance doth behold the upright," Ps. xi. 7. From a view of his holiness angels cried, "Holy, holy, holy," Isaiah vi. 3. At holiness manifested in judgment on the enemies of the Church, she is called to sing, Ps. xcvi. 8—12, Ps. lxxviii. 1—4. His jealousy proceeds from his holiness, "I will search Jerusalem with candles," Zeph. i. 12; "When God heard this he was wroth, and greatly abhorred Israel," Ps. lxxviii. 59.

By way of active cognizance his eyes run to and fro through the whole earth. When sin reached universally to a great height, Gen. vi. 5, in language after the

manner of men, proceeding from holiness, how expressive of displeasure is v. 6; and after an hundred and twenty years' forbearance, v. 3, what a fearful judgment by water pouring out of the heavens, and gushing out of the earth, meeting upon its surface, whereby the whole of this globe was turned into a shoreless ocean, and its numerous inhabitants buried in its deep, ch. vii. 19—23, a very few excepted. What a judgment at Babel, confounding the speech upon account of obstinacy in a perverse course, Gen. xi. 1—9, the effect of which is universal, and to remove which, in but a very small measure, much labour is required. What a demonstration of Divine holiness in a way of displeasure was shown against sin by fire coming out of heaven on Sodom and the cities of the plain, wherein, as well as at the flood, the children with the parents were involved, and those places turned into a noxious lake, and continuing so as a standing monument of Divine anger. What a judgment on the Church in Egypt and in Babylon, and what at Jerusalem on a people great in privilege and in sin, the whole showing that the face of God in his providence is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth," Ps. xxxiv. 16; while "the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance," Ps. cxii. 6. Yea, v. 1—4, in a way of judgment, what was inflicted on Christ as substitute, who was free of sin, and did always what pleased his Father, when he was made to say, Matth. xxvi. 38, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death," and to cry, Ps. xxii. 1—21! Proceeding from holiness, what displeasure against sin in the infliction of correction on children, and this in a variety of ways, some peculiar, in hiding, frowning, &c. even after these children are justified, and for whom God has accepted an eternal sacrifice in his Son.

9th, In a way of faithfulness, holiness was exercised and manifested in sending the Saviour, the promised seed, and is celebrated, Luke i. 67—72.

10th, Holiness was manifested also in the person of the Saviour, Luke i. 35, Heb. vii. 25, 1 Peter, ii. 22, as the product of the efficient device of God, and the meritorious channel for his intercourse with man.

11th, Holiness in a way of righteousness was manifested in inflicting upon Christ the punishment due to us, Isaiah, liii. 4—6, as I noticed before.

12th, Holiness was manifested in its being interposed as the ground whereon Christ was to rest for the fulfilment of the promises of the covenant unto him, as affording infallible security for a stable ground of hope, Ps. lxxxix. 35; and on him who made the promise did Christ rest, Isaiah i. 7—9, while he pleaded, Ps. xxii. 3; which holiness is not mentioned here as the cause of his sufferings, which it doubtless was, but as the ground of hope. To his father, in the character of holy father, did Christ commit the keeping of the redeemed, John xvii. 11.

13th, Holiness was manifested in fulfilling the promises to Christ, thereby carrying him through his work, Ps. xxii. 21—25, raising him from the dead, Ps. xvi. 16, and exalting him to glory; and in the success of his work in all its parts, Isaiah liii. 10—12, Ps. cx. 1—7, and in the delight his Father has in him, and in the success of his work.

14th, Holiness was shown in the acceptance of his work, Eph. v. 2, and continues to be shown by the acceptance of men through him, ch. i. 6.

15th, Holiness is manifested by God's requiring it in men in order to their having intercourse with him and glorifying and enjoying him; and it is manifested in his beginning it and in promoting it, and in his delight in them, and also in his care for his church and her ordinances, and in his delight in their success, as the instrumental means. For injury to her heavy judgments are imposed, and for want of care about her purity and enlargement, other things are blasted, Hag. i. 9. For neglecting the observation is Levit. xxvi. 34.

16th, Holiness is shown in our need of making use of Christ, John x. 9, ch. xiv. 6, as our way to God, as well as his way to us.

17th, Holiness is shown in God's proposing his holy law as a rule after justification.

18th, Holiness is shown in all the directions to mortification, watchfulness, and spiritual mindedness, Rom. viii. 1—13, with most powerful motives arising from



the security of the person included in the purpose, the unchangeable purpose, of the everlasting love of God, v. 29, 30; while against self deception there is great provision made by decisive marks. The want of an inward principle of holiness makes people expect heaven while they are in sin.

19th, While holiness is shown in the delight that the Lord takes in the persons of those who are holy, so is it also in their exercise, endeavouring the prevention of sin and the recovery of men, James v. 20, Daniel xii. 3, Ezek. ix. 4; while judgment is denounced against those who by error of doctrine or practice seduce others, Rev. ii. 20—22, and against opposers of his reign of grace, Ps. lxxxix. 21, 23.

20th, Holiness is manifested in the delight the Lord takes in those who are free from sin in the house above, where sin cannot enter, Rev. xxi. 27; and it will be most illustriously displayed at the great day in the judgment and the execution thereof against all not freed from sin, whatever may have been their knowledge, their profession, or their hope: "Depart from me, ye that work iniquity, I know you not." In the delineation of his character, by tracing him in the conduct of his administration, this is but a very slight and imperfect exhibition of him in only a part of his ways.

21st, While the restoration of the beautiful order of the natural world remains to be accomplished at the great day, which restoration proceeds from the rectitude of the Divine Being, the punishment of Satan, as the cause of its disorder in the sin of man, will illustriously manifest the Divine holiness through a never-ending eternity.

I now return to consider in what respects sin is against God. I have said, 1st, That it is against the nature or holiness of God, and have slightly noticed some of the ways in which his holiness is manifested.

2d, When we consider that sin is against the will, authority, and claim of God jointly expressed, viewed both as to what he required before the fall and also as to what in addition to that he since requires under a supernatural dispensation of grace, in which many things are required that our original state did neither

require nor admit. Sin is against the whole of the will of God as comprehended in the precepts of his law and the institutions of his grace, and against these severally, and combined with their respective and united ends. Sin is against the will and command of God to believe on the name of his only begotten Son, and against all appointed means for obtaining an interest in him, and for carrying on a work of sanctification even where it is already begun. It is against watching, praying, striving, mortification, and against the ordinances and providences of God for the end of sanctification; yea, it is against salvation itself, rejecting the remedy, and the means appointed for its application. It dislikes instruction, reproof, warning, threatening, John iii. 18; 36, and promises it does not cordially embrace. Even where sanctification is begun, sin is against obedience to the will of God, Rom. vii. 15—24. Sin is against the will of God just because this is holy and good, Rom. vii. 12; and sin in unregenerate men is only the more impetuous that the law prohibits it. Sin is contrary to the authority of God, which is interposed in the revelation of the whole requisition which he enjoins; which authority is rejected in disobedience to his will which proceeds from it. Sin is not merely against this because it is right, but, because it is enjoined by the authority of God, though this by us is not always considered as the formal cause or reason of violation. The term "law," Rom. vii. 12, denotes that the command comes from God in his legislative character, and the consequent obligation thereof. The term "commandment" implies merely that it is the intimation of his will, though the obligation is the same; and both the law and the commandment are intrinsically holy, and, as a rule, are just and good, or fit, meet, and proper, as, coming from infinite wisdom and righteousness, they must be. The circumstance of the law being called spiritual, v. 14, is expressive of its nature, and the cognizance it takes with the heart, and springs of the actions of men. God's claim is two-fold, 1st, By creation. 2d, By redemption; and by the last the first is not loosed; "not without law to God, but under the law to Christ." His will proceeds from his nature,

and, as a rule, is expressive of his authority and claim, and this claim is founded in his propriety in us, and this is founded in the exercise of his creating power, and this originated in his sovereign will; and this propriety gives him an underived and an unalienable claim, that reaches to our persons and our conduct, requiring in these conformity to his image and will, or holiness; and to this he has a claim because he made us holy. Gen. i. 27. Though it was wholly sovereign in God to make us, yet, from the essential rectitude of his nature, it was impossible for him not to make us holy. The extensiveness of his claim is expressed by the term "breadth of his law," Ps. cxix, 96, reaching to our conduct, and to all the principles and motives whence it does proceed. Upon this principle all sin is against God, even though it should be more immediately against man, as by stealing or killing, Ps. li. 4, "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned." His claim is recognised and celebrated, Ps. c. 3, "It is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves." The following clause recognises him in his new-covenant character, "We are his people, and the sheep of his pasture," calling to corresponding exercise in return, v. 4, 5. His new-covenant relation is also recognised, Isaiah xliii. 1, by his creating or forming Israel into a church state; and also similar is Deut. xxxii. 6, with many other places.

3d, When we consider that sin is against the declaration of the glory of God, Rom. iii. 23, and against his pleasure and delight, as the united ends he had in view in creation at first, Prov. xvi. 4, Rev. iv. 11, which I formerly noticed, p. 128. Indeed his own glory, or the glorifying of himself, and the pleasure and delight he would therein have, were the supreme ultimate ends he had in view, both in creation and redemption, according to the display of his excellencies in these respective works. Christ glorified him, John xii. 28, Ps. xl. 7, 8. Redemption in all its parts renders holiness in us, and the glorifying of God, for affording him delight, necessary. Election, Deut. x. 15, Eph. i. 4,—predestination, Rom. viii. 29,—effectual calling, v. 30,—justification, v. 30,—adoption, Eph. i. 5, 6,—sanctification, Col. iii. 10—the death of Christ, Col. i. 21, 22,—

the hope of heaven, 1 John iii. 3, Col. i. 5, 10,—the command of God, "Be ye holy, for I am holy," 1 Peter i. 16, Eph. iv. 23, 24,—yea, the whole revelation of grace, Titus ii. 11, 12,—all these show God's end in redemption to be holiness, and the glorifying of himself. The dishonour arises from the relation in which we respectively stand to him, whether it be by creation and common providence, as in the sin of heathens, or by redemption, as in the sin of a people enjoying a dispensation of grace externally, and that whether they be interested in a saving way or not. By creation he had a claim to delight, and he actually enjoyed it upon a survey of that which was at once both the device and the product of his all perfect, glorious, holy, unbounded and eternal excellencies; from the manifestation thereof to the view of all intelligent creatures; and from his view of the whole consisting in the rectitude of the things, and from the glory reflected therefrom.

Of the evil and demerit of sin what shall be said, when we consider it in its nature and effects? It is directly contrary to the nature, the will, authority, and claim of God, and deprives him of his glory, pleasure, and delight. Its entrance was by a direct violation on the part of man of Jehovah's expressly-revealed will, "Thou shalt not eat of it;" and it has reversed the whole of the original beautiful order of God in this lower world, and made the infinite majesty of heaven, the uncreated fountain of infinite perfection, both natural and moral, to curse the very works of his hands, the former good condition of which was expressed by the morning stars singing together, and the sons of God shouting for joy, and which he, the alone judge, as well as maker, pronounced good, finding in them the summit of his creating design.

Sin has also been the meritorious cause of the suffering of Christ; and though thereby some will get deliverance from sin and all its effects, and the beautiful order of the natural world will be restored; the rest will then have the full of—O! what shall I here say of that which awaits?—while what of the originally-established order of God continues, does still shine with exquisite beauty, and the obedient subjects, viz. the holy angels,

have the sweet smiles of the favour of God beaming on them in all its original lustre and glory, while they possess their original holiness, as the objects of his delight.

Sin is neither good in its nature nor in its effects, in any respect. O! vile dreamers, Joseph Bellamy and Samuel Hopkins of America, to hail and welcome the entrance and the continuance of sin from a pretence of its being needful for God's bringing about some end or ends, and as if he needed to take wrong, sinfully wrong; means to accomplish these ends! These men, when they wrote, had not, in the smallest degree, seen the evil that is in sin, and they seem to be so perverted as to applaud and rejoice in their own vileness and that of others, as if God had made man and the frame of the universe not right at first, and thus arraign the majesty of infinite perfection, natural and moral.

The leaven of this vile doctrine is introduced into pulpits in our own lands on communion Sabbaths. There is cause for joy and praise in the moving cause; the merits and the fruits of the death of Christ, but for grief at the sufferings and the cause thereof, which in no respect are good, nor to be represented as such; Zech. xii. 10.

Those who entertain such views of things will not grieve at the evil that is in sin, but if they continue in that state they must see and feel, though not in a saving way, when this sin-disordered world shall be set in flames, and when those not freed shall be held up as the awful monuments of Divine displeasure against sin; while the highest order of all created intelligences, and who stand at the very summit of creation, will continue in their original state, to celebrate the excellencies of their adorable Creator with unwearied delight. The eternity of misery of the wicked ariseth wholly from the frame of man, he being for eternity, and from the nature and demerit of sin. To consider the endless continuance of suffering as arising from the finity of the subject on account of which he is unable to make satisfaction or atonement in a limited time is a mistake, because the sufferings of sinning angels or men, here or hereafter, cannot make the least atonement, nor are their sufferings intended for this end.

4th, When we consider God in his infinite majesty, as well as in his purity, from which arise the consequent guilt of sin and dishonour to him; and herein come under consideration his self-existence, infinity, eternity, absolute independence, immutability, and all his perfections, moral and natural.

5th, When we consider his omniscience, arising from his omnipresence, which is an attribute of infinity as to space, which is all occupied by him, while he, essentially, is as much where this world is not, as where it is; only his omnipresence is his presence where his works exist, or his presence with them, sustaining and beholding, not as an indifferent spectator, but with acute cognizance, and as one with whom the darkness and the light are alike, Ps. cxxxix. 12, and who sets our secret faults in the brightness of his face, Ps. xc. 8, and yet cannot look upon sin, Hab. i. 12, 13. The very soul within us, that is invisible to us, is, in all its deformity in principle and operation, clearly seen by him, and is nauseous in his sight.

6th, When we consider his ability as well as his right to punish, which arise from his propriety and claim. His ability arises from his power or strength, which is one of his attributes of infinity, and which was exercised and manifested in producing the vast universe, and is so still in sustaining it without being in the least degree exhausted, wearied, or decayed. "He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast," Ps. xxxiii. 9. "He weigheth the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance," Isaiah xl. 12.

7th, I may add, when we consider not only God in his ability and right, but man's need of punishment, arising from God's relation, and from his justice, which is essential in his administration, and proceeds from his holiness. Justice is just the rectoral exercise of holiness in the administration of God; or, in other words, God, from his relation to his creatures, and from the rectitude of his nature, must necessarily punish sin; as it would be wrong and impossible for God to punish the innocent, so it would be as wrong and unjust to pass with impunity the guilty.

8th, When we consider the aggravation attending

the sin of a people enjoying a dispensation of supernatural grace, which aggravation respects people in the different circumstances in which they are placed, and the favours in kind, number, and degree, that they respectively enjoy. The guilt of sin and the provocation of God are greatly increased or aggravated by the continuance in sin, and the repetition of it, against all direction, warning, and entreaties most kind, "O, do not that which I hate," Jer. xlv. 4, and against all obligation, by favour, resolution, promises, &c. which are to be viewed along with God's sparing us in the exercise of his abused patience, and not upon account of our innocency, nor from his not seeing, or seeing with indifference, nor from his being unable to punish, but from his unwillingness to punish, and this arising from his covenant relation, Deut. ix. 5, Mal. iii. 6, "For I am the Lord, I change not, therefore ye, the sons of Jacob, are not consumed." Here it is not said, ye sons of men, but of Jacob, and though they were the sons of men, yet they were recognised in their relation to Jacob by God in his covenant faithfulness. His forbearance is covenant forbearance, Hosea xi. 8; "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? How shall I deliver thee, Israel?" In Micah vii. 18, it is the transgression of the remnant of his heritage. All this loving kindness on the part of God, in forbearing the infliction of deserved evil, and in bestowing undeserved good, and the abuse thereof on the part of men, are to be viewed by a soul in God's turning and having compassion. His new-covenant relation is also recognised, as rendering the sin the greater, Isaiah i. 3, "But Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider."

9th, When we consider the way God has taken to pardon and recover man by the substitution of another in his stead, Isaiah liii. 4—8.

10th, When we consider the person substituted, in his infinite dignity and immaculate holiness, Philip. ii. 6, 7, Luke i. 35, Heb. vii. 25, and the meanness and vileness of those for whom he was substituted, Ezek. xvi. 4, 5, Rom. v. 6—8. It would have been infinite condescension in the Son of God to have taken our nature upon him, holy, innocent, and pure, as it came

from his own forming hand ; but O ! to think upon his assuming our nature, not as when it shone in the robes of original holiness, innocence, and glory, but as sullied and tarnished by us, who had laid our most choice honours low in the dust !

11th, When we consider that to which he was delivered, Philip. ii. 8.

12th, When we consider the Divine holiness in a way of righteousness, that required the substitution in order to the freedom and recovery of the persons for whom this was made, Rom. v. 21, " That grace might reign through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord ;" 2 Cor. v. 21, " That we might be made the righteousness of God in him."

13th, When we consider the sovereignty and grace that provided and delivered the substitute, making him to be a sin-offering for us, when, in spotless holiness and untainted righteousness, he might have made us sin for ourselves, as he did the sinning angels, Jude, ver. 6, Rom. v. 21.

14th, When we consider the moving cause, which was Divine love, John iii. 16, " God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son." Here the act of giving is ascribed to the Father, because in the doing of this he was sustaining the majesty of Deity, and acting according to the plan which was the device of the Blessed Three, whence this love in all its fruits does flow ; and according to this plan the Son came and gave himself a sacrifice for a sweet savour to God.

15th, When we consider the effects of this substitution and delivery of the Son of God in the evil of the guilt, vileness, and misery, from which it delivers, and the holiness and happiness to which it advances, in the carrying of eternal love into effect in regeneration, union with Christ, carrying into eternal glory in the glorifying of God.

From a view of the aspect of God herein, having compassion, and not retaining his anger, but delighting in mercy, and in the doing of this not only exhibiting himself as rich in mercy and ready to forgive, but as engaged to turn to men, and to turn them to him, having high admiring thoughts of him herein, in his self-exist-



ance, majesty, and holiness; and yet, in the mystery of his grace in Christ, delighting to exalt the high ways of his free grace in the recovery of men. The prophet, Micah, vii. 18, says, "Who is a God like unto thee?"

**XIII.**—The feast of Purim, Esther ix. 17—32, which comprehends the following:—

1st, Its name, Purim, v. 26, 28, from Pur, v. 24, which means Haman's wicked plan of casting the lot, to be disposed of by idols, ch. iii. 7, for determining the best time for his wicked purpose of destroying the Jews.

2d, Its first observance, ch. xix. 18, 19, as to the persons, and as to the time, which was Adar, the twelfth month.

3d, The occasion, which was the overthrow of Haman's counsel, in the unexpected preservation of the Church, v. 24, 25, ch. viii. 12; and it was presaged and anticipated by "light and gladness, and joy and honour," ch. viii. 16, and by many becoming Jews, v. 17.

4th, Its exercise, "gladness and feasting," ch. ix. 19.

5th, Its duration at one time, two days, which were the fourteenth and fifteenth of the month.

6th, Its frequency, yearly, v. 21, 27.

7th, Its establishment for continuance, including the persons by whom, v. 20, 21, viz.:—Mordecai, and the rest, by resolved approval, v. 27, 28, for the perpetuation thereof by their seed; then the united approval of Esther, v. 29, for confirmation, with the means and manner, v. 30, 31.

8th, Its extent as to subjects, v. 27, the then present Jews, and their posterity, ch. viii. 17, and all who afterwards joined them and became proselytes, ch. ix. 28, every family, province, and city.

9th, Its extent as to duration, ch. ix. 28, "remembered and kept throughout every generation," and, "should not fail, nor the memorial perish."

10th, Its end, to commemorate the signal deliverance in answer to the exercise of fasting and prayer, v. 28, 31. Though what is not appointed of God cannot be for his glory, nor the good of the souls of men, yet

this will not prove this feast of Purim, nor the fast immediately preceding, to have been unlawful, inexpedient, and improper, nor to be will-worship, without foundation by institution and precedent, although the Jews corrupted this feast. Divine institution will be no security against corruption, for the feast of tabernacles was of Divine institution, and yet it become greatly corrupted. From the nature of fasting, humiliation, and praise, the calls to these respective exercises are determined by the circumstances in providence founded on what was previously instituted; and for every thing there is a proper season, Ecc. iii. 1, James v. 13, Ps. l. 15. Ezra, without any immediate institution, proclaimed a fast, and was accepted, ch. viii. 21, 23. Moses and the children of Israel having good ground, therefore sweetly sang, Exod. xv. 1—21, though they soon forgot their deliverance, Ps. lxxviii. 42, 43. There was abundant cause to perpetuate the commemoration of this deliverance in the days of Esther, and she was good on this occasion to the poor, ch. ix. 22; but the feast being of a sensual nature, it was too liable to be abused. It ought to have been more spiritual. Sensual feasts are calculated to contribute to the sins of the flesh, and commonly have marks of Divine displeasure; and, in general, all modern feasting is contrary to Luke xiv. 12—14.

XIV.—Third yearly tithing, Deut. xiv. 28, ch. xxvi. 12.  
1st, Its author, the Lord, Deut. i. 6.

2d, The manner of institution, by charge to Moses, as was rehearsed by him, Deut. xiv. 28, ch. xxvi. 12.

3d, The time and the place of the delivering of the charge to Moses of all which he relates in Deuteronomy was, when he was in Horeb, ch. i. 6.

4th, The time of Moses' delivering, by rehearsal, all that is contained in Deuteronomy, was on the first day of the eleventh month, in the fortieth year, Deut. i. 3, from the charge, Exod. xii. 2, upon Israel's ending their wilderness journey, before entering Canaan.

5th, The place of Moses' delivering this charge to Israel was, "on this side Jordan, in the wilderness," &c. Deut. i. 1.

6th, The place where the institution was to be observed was Canaan.

7th, Its frequency, ch. xiv. 28, "at the end of three years."

8th, The subjects to whom the charge was, by Moses, delivered, Israel.

9th, The institution in its observance was, Deut. xiv. 28, the bringing forth of all the tithes of the third year, which was to be done in the separation thereof from their own, laying it up within the gates for its designed objects.

10th, The subjects participant in the tithe were, ch. xiv. 29, the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, within the gates, who were to partake to the full.

11th, The reason why these subjects were to participate; the Levite was to participate because he had no inheritance assigned him by lot in Canaan, and the character of the others implies that their helpless condition was the reason for their doing so. The same reason respecting the Levites is given, v. 27, and indeed there was a yearly tithing for them, Levit. xxvii. 30, 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6, Deut. xviii. 1, 2, Joshua, ch. xxi. However, although they as a tribe had no inheritance like the rest of the tribes, yet they were to have forty-eight cities with their suburbs, Num. xxxv. 1—8.

12th, The inducement to Israel to comply with this requirement was, that the Lord might bless them in all the works of their hands, Deut. xiv. 29.

XV.—The Sabbatical, or seventh year's rest of the land, Exod. xxiii. 10, Levit. xxv. 1—7; connected with which appears the seventh year's release of debts, Deut. xv. 1.

1st, Its author, the Lord; who is the speaker from Exod. xx. 1, 2, to ch. xxiii. 33, and is expressly mentioned by name, Levit. xxv. 1.

2d, The manner and order of the institution, which were, after the delivery of the ten commandments, Exod. xx. 3—17, when charge was given to Moses to deliver to Israel various statutes, v. 22, to ch. xxiii. 19, among which was, the seventh year's rest, v. 10, 11, first mentioned in this chapter; and it is followed by a charge

concerning the seventh-day Sabbath, v. 12. The three annual feasts are then mentioned, v. 14—17, the first of which had been previously instituted, Exod. xii. and had been already observed, as had been also the Sabbath. The charge concerning the seventh year's rest is repeated, Levit. xxv. 1—7.

3d, The time of the Lord's delivering the charge to Moses, which was after the delivering of the ten commandments, distinguished from the time in which the institution was to be observed, Levit. xxv. 2, "When ye come into the land," &c.

4th, The place of the delivering of the charge to Moses was the wilderness of Sinai, where also the ten commands were delivered, Exod. xix. 23, ch. xx. 18.

5th, The place of its observance, which was to be in Canaan, Levit. xxv. 2.

6th, The time, as to its continuance on any one occasion, was a year, Levit. xxv. 2, "the seventh year." But from what period, after reaching the land of Canaan, this seventh year was reckoned, we are not informed.

7th, Time, as to the season of the year. The yearly feasts were not observed at the beginning of the year, and perhaps the observance of this institution did not commence with the year, but at the end of harvest, after the gathering in of the fruit of the land, immediately following the feast of tabernacles, Levit. xxiii. 3, 4, 39—41, Deut. xxxi. 10, as the jubilee did the atonement, Levit. xxv. 9.

8th, Its frequency, which was every seventh year, Exod. xxiii. 11, Levit. xxv. 4, after six years sowing and reaping, Exod. xxiii. 10, Levit. xxv. 3; that is, every circulating seventh; and this was different from the seventh year's release of persons, the latter being dated from the commencement of their servitude, and therefore occasional, and not restricted to the stated seventh year's rest.

9th, The manner of the observance of this seventh year, which was, first, letting the land "rest and lie still," Exod. xxiii. 10, 11, "neither sowing the field nor pruning the vineyard," Levit. xxv. 4, and including a cessation from plowing and every other opera-

tion of agriculture. It was hence called a "Sabbath of rest," and, v. 5, "a year of rest." These directions extended also to the fields, Exod. xxiii. 10, and the vineyards, and oliveyards, v. 11, Levit. xxv. 4. *Secondly*, The disposal of what spontaneously grew from corn shaken in the field by reaping and winnowing, and of the fruit trees, which would produce without dressing, all which produce was for meat, Levit. xxv. 6, Exod. xxiii. 11. It was also to be common, that all might participate, Exod. xxv. 11, "the poor of thy people," and "the beasts of the field," Levit. xxv. 6, 7, for servants, male and female, strangers, cattle, and beasts of the land. *Thirdly*, Releasing of debts, Deut. xv. 1, extending to all that might have been lent to a neighbour or a brother, v. 2; though from a foreigner exaction might be made, v. 3, yet the foreigner was one who had not become a proselyte, for by this he became a brother, and had one law, Exod. xii. 49. Yea, Israel were required to be free and liberal in lending, Deut. xv. 7, 8, and not to withhold from a consideration of the release being near, v. 9. They were to relieve their brother that had become poor and fallen into decay, though he were but a stranger or a sojourner, Levit. xxv. 35. Also, the taking of usury or interest from brethren was forbidden, Deut. xxiii. 19, Neh. v. 7, 10. Yea, it is observable that though from a foreigner the principal might be demanded; Deut. xv. 3, yet no usury, if he were poor, Levit. xxv. 35—37, Ps. xv. 5; and the allowing of the exaction of usury from a stranger, Deut. xxiii. 20, was, perhaps, when he borrowed, not from poverty or decay, but for traffic, to obtain profit, in which case it was just that the lender should have a share. At any rate, to one who became a brother, there was one law, and a common participation with Israel, which was an encouragement to become a church member, Levit. xvii. 12. The "stranger," and the "alien," Deut. xiv. 21, were not proselytes. *Fourthly*, the reading of the law, Deut. xxxi. 10—13. The manner of reading is recorded, Neh. viii. 1, ch. ix. 3, with the rest of the exercise, and the effects thereof, ch. x. 31, in a resolution to observe this rest and release.

10th, The inducement to the observance of this Sabbathical year, in all that belonged to it, by all in their respective conditions, viz. :—the land's producing a sufficiency in the preceding year, Levit. xxv. 20—22, ch. xxvi. 4—13; and to the discharge of debts the inducement was, a consideration of the authority of him who required it, Deut. xv. 2, and of the dependence of their prosperity on their regard to his will, v. 5, 6; and also, to strangers to become proselytes, there was the inducement of a participation in the privileges of the Israelites. And while there were a release from servile labour to all in the land, a participation in the spontaneous fruits of the field, and of the vineyards, and a discharge to all church members, so there was also a religious rest, in the enjoyment of special spiritual means, Deut. xxxi. 10—13, in which men, women, children, and strangers, are included. By an interest in God in his new-covenant character, there was special spiritual rest to the soul, Matt. xi. 28; and thus here, in this Sabbathical rest, there was blessing upon blessing in rest from bodily labour and fatigue, and the enjoyment of means for bringing rest to the soul in this world, as a sure earnest of this rest being perfect and uninterrupted in heaven.

11th, The penalty, Levit. xxvi. 34, 2, 21.

XVI.—The seventh year's release of persons, Exod. xxi. 2, Deut. xv. 12—18, Jer. xxxiv. 14, comprehending the following :—

1st, Its author, the Lord, Exod. xxi. 2, whose declaration, by statute, promise, and penalty, is rehearsed by Moses, Deut. xv. 14, and who speaks to Jeremiah, ch. xxxiv. 8, 12, 13, referring to the former institution, v. 14.

2d, The time of its institution, Exod. xxi. 2, immediately after the delivery of the ten commandments, referred to, Jer. xxxiv. 13, said to be the day in which “I,” Jehovah, the Lord, “brought the children of Israel forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondmen.”

3d, The persons to whom the injunction was given, the children of Israel, Exod. xx. 22, called “the brother of an Hebrew,” Deut. xv. 12, and who, in Jer.

xxxiv. 13, are called "your fathers," in which expression the obligation of the posterity, and the perpetuity of the injunction are implied.

4th, The subjects of release in their class, "an Hebrew," Exod. xxi. 2, Deut. xv. 12, Jer. xxxiv. 9. From the second of these scriptures, "an Hebrew man or an Hebrew women," and the last, "Hebrew or Hebrewess," there seems to be a distinction, restricting the seventh year's release to native Hebrews. Exod. xxi. 2, respected only the male, who was "an Hebrew," and v. 7—11, had reference to the female, and seem to imply that she was a native Gentile; because v. 7 says not, an Hebrew, as v. 2, but "a man" and "his daughter;" and also because she was redeemable, v. 8, which also shows that she was a Gentile, or else that her six years were not expired; for then a female Hebrew was free without being redeemed. It also implies that the master shall have bought her under the pretence of marrying her. However, in the first case, the master, upon failing to perform his engagement, was not allowed to sell her to a strange nation, because of his deceit, and because this would have exposed her to cruelty, and seduction to sin, and deprived her of church privileges in the means of salvation, and of jubilee in its due time. In the second case, if the son failed to perform the specified engagement, the maid was to go free, without being redeemed by money, v. 9—11.

5th, The subjects of release in their sexes, male and female, Deut. xv. 12, 17, Jer. xxxiv. 9, 14, 16. In the first of these passages, the epithet "brother" includes male and female.

6th, The subjects in their age, parents, and children; for the children were always under the superintendence and tuition of their parents, Deut. iv. 10, ch. vi. 7, and, being Hebrew, were not claimable as Gentile children were, Levit. xxv. 45, 46. However, proselytes having with Israel one law, were required, as well as the latter, to teach their children, and the difference betwixt them consisted in the continuance of the native Gentile in service beyond the seventh year, and not in privilege, in which they were equal. In Exod. xxi. 9, the Gentile maid was to be used as a daughter.

7th, The time of release, at the end of six year's servitude, *Exod. xxi. 2, Deut. xv. 12, Jer. xxxiv. 14*, dating the beginning of these years from the commencement of servitude, which did not, therefore, always terminate on the seventh year's rest, *Levit. xxv. 4*.

8th, The tenor of the offer of release, which was upon the choice of the Hebrew servant, he having liberty to continue in service; and the way of his testifying this is recorded, *Exod. xxi. 5, 6, Deut. xv. 17*, which was also the way with a female; therefore, bond service was allowable in a Hebrew female until the jubilee.

9th, The manner of release, which was, if the Hebrew male came in by himself, he was to go out by himself, *Exod. xxi. 3*; and, if he was married, his wife went with him. But if his master had given him a wife, and if she had had children by him, both she and they continued the property of the master, and the man-servant went out by himself, *v. 4*. However, his liberation, and her continuance in bond service, did not annul the relation between the husband and his wife. In the liberation there was a liberal furnishing out of the flock, floor, and wine-press. Even Pharaoh allowed flocks, *Exod. xii. 32*.

10th, The inducement to comply with this injunction, viz.:—a consideration of Israel's former condition in Egypt, *Deut. xv. 15*, and that their deliverance was by God's favour, together with his interposed authority, enjoining it in his covenant-relation, *Jer. xxxiv. 13, 14*.

11th, The Divine care for the observance of this institution, shown by God's inflicting a penalty for refusal to comply with it, *Jer. xxxiv. 17—22*, though not expressed in the institution.

XVII.—The jubilee, or fiftieth year's release of persons and of possessions, *Levit. xxv. 8—54, ch. xxvii. 17—27*; in which are comprehended the following:—

1st, Its author, the Lord, *Levit. xxv. 1*.

2d, The manner of institution, by charge to Moses, *ch. xxv. 1, 8*.

3d, The time of its institution by God, which was before reaching Canaan, *v. 2*.

4th, The place of its institution, Mount Sinai, *v. 1*.



5th, The place where it was to be observed, Canaan, v. 2, "when ye come into the land."

6th, The time of the jubilee as to the year, which was at the end of seven Sabbatical years, v. 8; and the manner of calculating for the jubilee was, by numbering seven of those years, at the expiration of which the jubilee did commence (expressed by the word "then," v. 9), which determined the jubilee to be upon the fiftieth year, as expressly mentioned, v. 10. 11. That it was not on the forty-ninth year, is evident—1. From the word "then," v. 9; 2. From the express mention, v. 10, 11. To affirm that the jubilee may be said to have been upon either the forty-ninth, or the fiftieth year, according as the calculation is made from the civil or the sacred calendar, would not be correct, because, 1. God never dates from two periods. After the change of the "beginning of months," Exod. xii. 2, he ever dates from it, nor do we ever find the church understanding the date otherwise. The references to dates in Gen. vii. 11, and in ch. viii. 13, were before the change in Exod. xii. 2; and according to it were those in Num. xxxiii. 38, 1 Kings vi. 1, 2 Chron. viii. 1; and while in Exod. xxxiii. 21, ch. xl. 1, there is reference to the captivity as to the year, it is not implied either that the month, or the commencement of the year, was dated differently from Exod. xii. 2. 2. Without equivocation, the same date could not have had two names; nor was it left to the arbitrary choice of men as to the time or the name that was to be given. What in modern times is mentioned of the civil and the sacred year is without reality. 3. Even this would not have answered, because, from whichever of these periods the jubilee was at first dated, that fixed upon must have been a regular date to it ever afterwards. 4. If the jubilee had been intended to be kept upon the forty-ninth year, there would have been no need to forbid sowing and reaping, because the forty-ninth year was the Sabbatical year, on which these were already forbidden. The circumstance of the preceding year being a Sabbatical year, and in which, therefore, the land was not sown, furnishes no objection against the following year being kept as the

jubilee of rest ; nor is the want of a particular promise of supply for the fiftieth year, any proof that God did not intend that year for the jubilee. The same power that produced an extra supply for the Sabbatical year seven times before the jubilee arrived, was not less able to produce sufficiency for the fiftieth, after these seven times seven had run their course ; nor was his care after this abated, of which Israel had proof, in the revolving Sabbatical year, seven times before the first jubilee arrived. And this may be implied in v. 21, 22, so that his promise, and their proof of the verity thereof in their experience, were sufficient to prevent fear as to provision for the jubilee, although it immediately followed the Sabbatical year.

7th, Time as to the month, and the day of the month, v. 9, " on the tenth day of the seventh month," which was the day of annual atonement ; and thus, while Gen. iii. 8, found man guilty, yet, by a dispensation of grace, atonement being made, v. 15, a joyful jubilee did commence, Levit. xxv. 9.

8th, The manner of the proclamation and commencement was to be by sounding the jubilee trumpet through the whole land, v. 9, on this day of atonement, and herein the jubilee differed from the Sabbatical year.

9th, The manner of its observance, which was, by hallowing this fiftieth year, and proclaiming liberty, v. 10 ; neither sowing nor reaping, nor gathering the fruits of the vine, v. 11, but allowing the natural produce to be enjoyed by all, in common, out of the field, v. 12 ; and this forbearance from agriculture was included in the word " hallow," v. 10, which was expressive of the nature of the jubilee.

10th, The liberty in its extent as to persons, v. 10, " throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof," including, 1. Those who had entered into bond service since the last seventh year's release, Levit. xxv. 40, 41, with their children. 2. The man who at that time refused liberty, Exod. xxi. 5. and also the Hebrew female, Deut. xv. 17. 3. He who was redeemable, Levit. xxv. 48, but had not been redeemed with his children ; and the reason why he was not free at the end of six years was, because his master was a sojourner

or a stranger, v. 47; and though the master was not a brother, yet, being within the boundaries of Israel, it was allowable for a Hebrew to be in bond service to him, because the master was prohibited the exercise of idolatry, blasphemy, and the breach of the Sabbath-day, by working thereon; and the servant was within the reach of the privileges of the church, which was required to see to his right, v. 53; and allowing a price, even to a heathen from a Hebrew, for his redemption before the arrival of the jubilee, showed the equity of the Divine administration; and in compliance herewith in favour to servants, a price had been paid, Neh. v. 8, and the neglect thereof was chargeable with blame, v. 7, 8.

4. All native bond-servants. The declaration that the Hebrew brother should obtain his freedom at the jubilee, Levit. xxv. 39, 40, does not imply that the heathen bond servant should continue in bondage, but refers to the brother's returning to his inheritance, v. 41, of which the other was not possessed.

5. All prisoners, because Levit. xxv. 10, makes no exception. Those punishable by death did not escape. While the reason for the freedom of Hebrew bond servants is given, Levit. xxv. 55, that this freedom extended also to Gentiles, is evident from the spiritual signification of the jubilee, Isaiah lxi. 1, 2; where there is a proclaiming of liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those who are bound, as applied by Christ, Luke iv. 17, 18; which, both literally and spiritually, was the acceptable year of the Lord, v. 19. The jubilee being a part of the dispensation of grace, was highly valued by all who enjoyed it, and was sweetly celebrated by all who enjoyed it in truth, Ps. lxxxix. 15, from the light of Divine favour reflected on Israel, and from what by its signification was pointed out, all proceeding from mercy and truth going before his face, v. 14. The words "for ever," Exod. xxi. 6, respecting the Hebrew who had refused freedom, signified that he was not to be freed till the jubilee; while the same words in Levit. xxv. 46, signified that the Heathen was not at the end of six years' servitude to have the offer of freedom, nor even at the death of his master, but was to continue in service to the son until the jubilee. The

same expression might have been used in both these places, because, of those who entered into service shortly after the jubilee, few would survive till another jubilee, so as by it to be released ; so that, in both these cases, the death of the servant was their term ; and yet, even then, in this respect the words " for ever " did not imply endless perpetuity. Herein the duration of bond service was according to the tenure on which it was obtained, whether of voluntary choice, or for debt, or for crime.

11th, The release, as to possessions of lands, and of houses not within a walled city, v. 10, 13, 23, 28. The house within a walled city that had been sold, and not redeemed within a year, remained to him that bought it, v. 30, differing herein from houses in villages, v. 31, while the cities and houses of the Levites were redeemable at any time, v. 32, and could not be alienated for ever, but returned also at the jubilee, v. 33, while the field of the suburbs of their cities could not be sold, v. 34.

12th, The complex ends served by the jubilee. 1. Rest to the land. 2. The prevention of the oppression of the poor in their subjective condition. 3. A check against the accumulation of worldly possessions. 4. The security of the marked possession from being alienated, through folly or poverty, longer than fifty years. 5. The preservation of the distinction of their families, as well as of their possessions, by means of their genealogical records. 6. The distinct preservation of the line of the descent of Christ. 7. Some use in the computation of time. 8. While it prevented perpetual bondage and captivity, it typified the liberty that was to be wrought out by Christ, in its blessedness, variety, suitableness, and subjects participant.

Besides these regular, daily, weekly, monthly, yearly, and circulating third yearly, seventh yearly, and fiftieth yearly, which were stated, there were also occasional ordinances, as at the cleansing of a leper, Levit. xiv. 19, the purification of a woman after child-bearing, ch. xii. and other things, together with the various Divinely-appointed rites applicable to each ; among which were

burnt-offerings, sin-offerings, for sin against God, peace-offerings, offerings for ignorance, trespass-offerings, free-will-offerings, as prescribed, Levit. ch. i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi., and mentioned, ch. vii. 37; together with office-bearers, prophetic, priestly, and kingly, which we will find through the Divine institution at large, all instructive of the authority, majesty, holiness, wisdom, and grace of Jehovah, and in subserviency to the real spiritual welfare of bond servants, and all resulting in the glory of God.

One covenant, Deut. xxix. 1, 10—22, 26, in which are comprehended, its name, the manner of its being made, its contents, tenure, subjects, and administration, said to be another besides the one at Horeb or Sinai, Exod. xxiv. 1—8, and included it. This, Exod. xxiv. 1—8, is called the one at Horeb, because of Mount Sinai being in the wilderness of Horeb.

Covenant is a term of relation, and had its date in time immemorial. The first time that it is mentioned is Gen. ix. 9, where it is mentioned as a thing known and understood.

Among men it implies mutual consent, mutual interest, mutual obligation, and in part it arises from mutual proposal. Covenant with God is in some respects the same, and in some not; but it always signifies a state of agreement, friendship, and peace, Deut. vii. 2.

As to the manner of its being entered into by God; he, unrequested by man, unalterably designing to bestow undeserved favour on him, and to do it in a covenant-relation and in a way becoming himself, of majesty and grace, says, "I do," Gen. ix. 9, "I will," v. 11, ch. xvii. 2, 7, 9, "My covenant is with thee," v. 4; and, expressing the unalterableness of his design and the stability of his covenant, says, "I have made a covenant," Ps. lxxxix. 3, 28, Ezek. xvi. 3—8. Yea, he calls it "My covenant," Gen. ix. 9. ch. xvii. 7, before its contents are made known, and says, "I will establish." Even in recovering from backsliding he says, "I will allure," Hosea ii. 14, and, "I will betroth," v. 19; and thus, his revealed design being ac-

accompanied by his covenant-hand of grace, there is the sweet experience, "Thou shalt know the Lord," v. 20, Ezek. xvi. 60, 62. His revealed authority and favour, thus sweetly combined, obtain the acquiescence to close with God, in the doing of which, the soul says, "The Lord is my God," "my portion," Ps. xvi. 2, Jer. iii. 24; and herein is fulfilled, Ezek. xvi. 8, "I entered into covenant with thee, and thou becamest mine;" called "avouching," Deut. xxvi. 17, leading to express this exercise of closing with God by ratified consent, by promise, yea, swearing, and committing to writing, individually in secret, and jointly in public, according to circumstances, with the Divine approbation, and marks thereof; leading also to observe all God's institutions, according to his appointment, for carrying into effect his covenant design in the communication of eternal life, in its beginning and increase, until the person or persons be ushered into eternal glory.

Indeed, before the fall, God's transaction with Adam substantially contained all that is in a covenant. We do not, to be sure, read of Adam's expressing his consent by words. But since his condition required acquiescence from the authority and favour of God, there is not the least room to doubt that, his whole soul being perfect, it did with God's will herein fully acquiesce; and Adam's silence implied this. Noah did not express his acquiescence by words, nor were his numerous posterity, who were to be the subjects, required to comply in heart, nor to express this in words; and the want of this in Adam's case is no proof of the transaction not being that of a covenant. In the cases of Adam and Noah, they considered the declaration of God to be in reality and truth, and when words on their part were not required, silence was the effect and proof of reverence. The reality of the transaction with Adam being federal, and including also his posterity, is evident from their sharing in the effects of the fall as well as he. The equity of the Divine administration in including them along with him is also evident; for had he stood, which he was able to do, they would all have shared in the blessed fruits, and not one of them but would have applauded the sovereign administration, acquiesc-

ing therein, and now that he fell, it is equally just that they share in his loss.

In the covenant with Noah, Gen. ix. 9, the favour was forbearance in a covenant way, or from God in his covenant relation, and the covenant respected the different species of the inhabitants of this whole globe, as to space, and the duration of this world in its present state, as to the extent of time; and the declaration being given by a God of truth, demanded and received faith, which consisted in acquiescence in his will and trust in his verity; and, as a sign of his remembering his covenant, he appointed his bow in the cloud.

Towards Abraham, Gen. xii. 2, 3, 7, it was by promise, without the mention of covenant, and observe the effect of this; in v. 8, we are told he builded an altar. Ch. xiii. 17, was by promise. In ch. xv. 1—5, this received faith, v. 6. But there is something in this verse expressive of more than believing the declaration or promise. It is not said that Abram believed the word of the Lord, though that would have been true; but Abram's faith reached farther, acquiescing in the Lord himself; and this connexion with faith in the promise, especially in ch. xii. 3, "In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed;" including the descent of the Messiah from him, which was counted to Abram for righteousness. After a confirmation being given by the Lord, in condescension to Abram, of his seed inheriting the promised land, ch. xv. 8, which was a part of what was promised, it is said, v. 18, "In that same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land," which was just expressive of his unalterable design. In the progress of the transaction of making the covenant, there were sacrifices appointed by God, v. 9, and complied with by Abram, v. 10, dividing in the midst the heifer, the goat, and the ram; laying the pieces opposite, betwixt which the smoking furnace and the burning lamp passed, v. 17.

In process of time, in the administration of the covenant at Sinai, Exod. xxiv. 3, Moses rehearsed unto the people the words of the Lord, including his injunctions, to all of which the people promised obedience. Then

Moses wrote the words of the Lord, v. 4, for their preservation ; not only as an evidence of the transaction, and the obligation Israel was under, but to show the various parts of their duty, and it was out of this that Nehemiah, ch. ix. 3, read, and to which the church had ever afterwards recourse. One thing very observable in this important transaction at Sinai is, that Moses rose early in the morning, v. 4, an exercise that the Lord ordinarily leads unto when he is to admit to near access. After rearing the altar, with pillars in number according to the twelve tribes, v. 4, and offering burnt-offerings, and sacrificing peace-offerings of these victims, Moses put one half of the blood in basins, and the other half he sprinkled on the altar. Here there were sacrifices as well as in Gen. xv. 9, where there was a dividing, as Jer. xxxiv. 18. At Sinai, Exod. xxiv. 7, Moses read the book of the covenant to the people, to which they by words expressed their consent, saying, " All that the Lord hath said we will do, and be obedient," v. 7, as v. 3. Deut. v. 27, refers to Exod. xx. 19, where the people, through fear, requested the communication of God's will to be through the medium of Moses, to which God condescended ; so that this in Exod. xxiv., yea, and all intimation subsequent to ch. xx. 19, was through the medium of Moses, who gave the body of injunction, and was succeeded by Joshua and other prophets, the Urim and Thummim being for the same end. At Sinai there was also sprinkling, Exod. xxiv. 6, with half of the blood put into the basins, as Heb. ix. 19, where we are informed that the book, as well as the people, was sprinkled, and that there were water, scarlet wool, and hyssop, used by Moses, saying, v. 20, " This is the blood of the testament which God hath enjoined unto you," which, in Exod. xxiv. 8, reads, " Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words," so that the blood was of a twofold signification ; the one respecting God, as a sign of his favour being in its channel, through the blood of Christ, typified by these sacrifices, and by the shedding of his blood, there was his death, whereby all the blessings of the covenant were made over, sealed, and secured unto men, Heb.



ix. 16, 17, Matt. xxvi. 2. The other signification denoted by the blood being sprinkled on the people, was a sign of their acquiescence in God's covenant, and the obligation they were under to what he required, Heb. ix. 20. Respecting the blood in this two-fold signification, it is mentioned in Exod. xxiv. 8, and called "the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words:" comprehending what he had promised to bestow, and what he had enjoined on the people. To this covenant and the blood there is allusion in Zech. ix. 11. In Heb. ix. 15, the term "new testament," is the covenant under the new-testament dispensation, fulfilled by Christ, for the behoof even of those under the former administration of the covenant, which was called "the first testament," v. 15, 18. This making of covenant by sacrifice seems also to be alluded to, Ps. l. 5. This entering into covenant is required, Deut. xxix. 12, for which Israel were assembled, v. 2.

Besides the simple averment, Exod. xxiv. 3, 7, there is mention of swearing, Isaiah xlv. 23, alluded to, Rom. x. 10, with the mouth, and referred to, ch. xiv. 10, Philip. ii. 10, 11. The Lord sware also, Gen. xxii. 16, that Abraham's seed should be as numerous as the stars of heaven, and that, through his seed, in Christ, all nations of the earth should be blessed, v. 18, Heb. vi. 13—18, to make all the blessings of the covenant sure to the heirs of promise. Salt was used for meat to give a relish, and to preserve from putrefaction and decay, and the durability of the covenant is signified by its being called, Num. xviii. 19, "a covenant of salt," expressing thereby its incorruptibility and duration; yea, Christ is the sum of the covenant, and is called the covenant, Isaiah xlii. 6, and upon sending him Zacharias sings, Luke i. 67—73. By his covenant also, God established Israel a people unto himself, Deut. xxix. 13.

All ordinances, in their matter and manner of administration and those by whom they were administered, comprehending the prophetical, priestly, and kingly offices, were from God in his new-covenant relation, and were intended to carry into effect his originally ex-

pressed design. All after promises were just promises of the covenant, though not called by this name.

In this revelation of God in his blessed being and will in the administration of the covenant, he proposed himself as the object of esteem, adoration, worship, obedience, and delight, in the observation of the whole of his revealed will, in its several parts, each for its respective end. The doctrines comprehending his being and our relation to him, both before and after the fall, and what we are liable to thereby, and the way of recovery through the mutual concurrence of God in his blessed persons, each in his respective part in the work of redemption, were to bring us to believe and to embrace his call. The law in its precept and penalties, with those by whom it was to be administered, were chiefly intended to direct, restrain, and convince. The institution of his grace, and those by whom these were to be dispensed, according to design and promise, were to convey grace to enable to embrace and obey. Thus, his revealed will in all these respects, with the rest of his record, by history, or making known his design, were from himself in the same character, and to be mutually subservient for the same uniform end. Herein the Church had him exhibiting sin in its guilt and filth, and himself essentially holy; and yet, in a plan of grace receiving men into his favour, and still maintaining the holiness of his nature, and the honour of his law; abundant in forbearance and in forgiveness, affording light, leading holiness, protection, comfort, recovery from backsliding, the restoration of his favour in the smiles of his face, and in his tenderness giving warning against the evil of sin, and against seduction, and giving deliverance at last into rest and blessedness complete.

All after covenanting was just God, in the administration of his covenant, sometimes annexing institutions, changing the manner of administration, promising a new heart, Jerem. xxxi. 32, or the putting of his law in their inward parts, and writing them on their hearts, promising to continue to be their God, and to preserve them to be his people. Here what is called the making of the covenant, v. 31, is just the communication of

grace, v. 33, expressive of the insufficiency of the law written on the tables of stone; with other privileges, as time had mournfully shown. In v. 35—37, is expressed the unalterableness of his covenant-design. In Levit. xxvi. 42, confession is required, and upon this we have the promise of acceptance. In Hosea xi. 8, his unwillingness to give up his people is most affectionately expressed. But covenanting at first, or even the renewing of this, after its being broken by the Church, under either the former or the present dispensation, was never considered as a reward, or as meritorious of the blessings the covenant contained, though ignorance, or rather malignity, has so asserted. The recovery of persons, individually and jointly, has been accompanied with the renewal of their covenant with God, which the history of the Church, in the Scriptures, and also since these were finished, abundantly shows.

The contents, tenor, subjects, and administration of the covenant, I already adverted to on circumcision, which was a bringing externally into covenant, Gen. xvii. 10, and extended to the stranger, v. 12, 17. Since I then noticed that strangers were subjects, my principal reason for mentioning the covenant anew is, because God in his condescension recognises strangers anew, Deut. xxix. 10—25, "With him that standeth here, and also with him that is not here with us this day." For his condescension herein we may celebrate him, as we ought for all his condescension to the fallen sons of men, Ps. cxiii. 5, 1 Sam. ii. 8. As I formerly mentioned on circumcision, the covenant ran, "I will be a God to thee, and to thy seed after thee; and I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee the land of Canaan;" and that herein they had God in his being, person, perfections, purposes, and ways, including his relations of father, redeemer, husband, guide, rock, high tower, buckler, and shield; which was just the exhibition of himself, suited to the varying circumstances of need, Heb. vi. 14, "Blessing I will bless thee." In this covenant, as I formerly mentioned, he engaged to give a new heart, Jerem. xxxi. 33, Ezek. xxxvi. 26, which is just what Christ says is absolutely necessary

to render fit for entering the kingdom of heaven, John iii. 3, 5, and consists in regeneration or begun holiness, and sanctification or holiness perfected, by means of word and ordinances, to the observation of which the Church was so frequently and strictly enjoined, Levit. xxvi. Deut. xxviii. and to the doing of which there was such encouragement, Prov. viii. 1—35, by promise to this end, followed by warning, v. 36; and to which end he also makes providences, prosperous, and adverse, to contribute in carrying into effect his blessed design. The penalty, Levit. xxvi. 14—39, Deut. xvii. 2, 7, ch. xxviii. 15—68, and elsewhere, was from God in the same relation, and for the same end.

From these privileges what inducement to take hold of God's covenant, full of blessings, free and accessible, by those who were the seed of Abraham, and those who were not, Isaiah lvi. 3—8; with encouragement most abundant, in language most kind. What a privilege, and how does the church plead upon it, Dent. iv. 31, Ps. lxxiv. 1—5; and the relation in its fruits, "The red of thine inheritance which thou hast redeemed;" and Isaiah lxiii. 16, ch. xlv. 21, ch. xlvi. 4, Ps. lxxx. 1, Ps. cv. 6—45, giving warning, Deut. xxxi. 16—20, recovery, Jer. xxxii. 26, Isaiah ix. 21, &c., a covenant-God that keeps truth to all generations, rich in mercy, and ready to forgive, Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7, 10, in revelation and in sweet experience in the realizing thereof. This is his worthy name, and continues to be his memorial to all generations. In Hosea xiv. 1, there is by God an owning of the relation, and a call to them to return, with directions as to the way in which they would be acceptable; while ch. xi. 8, 9, showed his unwillingness to give them up, 2 Chron. xxx. 8, 9, Deut. xxx. 1—10, Micah vii. 18—20.

Prayer, 1 Kings viii. 28—38, 2 Chron. vi. 19—29. In Solomon's prayer, 1 Kings viii. 43, 2 Chron. vi. 32, the stranger is recognised, and this prayer respects things public and private, 1 Kings viii. 38, 2 Chron. vi. 29, ch. xx. 9, and is heard by the Lord, 1 Kings ix. 3, 2 Chron. vii. 1, "The glory of the Lord filled the house;" v. 15, verified, Ps. cvi. 44. What a privilege

is this, when we consider our need of forgiveness, of holiness, light, comfort, sympathy, &c.; and also the abundance, yea, the riches of abundance that there is with the Lord, who is near to all that call upon him in truth; and who encourages us to draw near that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in the time of need? Heb. iv. 16. And what a loss do they sustain, who enjoy not this gracious supernatural relation to him; for, he that cometh unto God must believe of him, in his being and gracious character, Heb. xi. 6; "How shall they call on him of whom they have not heard?" Rom. x. 14. O what do people need for themselves, relations, and the church, and what fulness thereof with God. and what encouragement to come to him is afforded by the revelation of him in his gracious character, having opened up a way at such expense, whereby he may admit creatures of our race into his favour, family, and presence, without infringing his justice; verified in the sweet experience of many, of some of whom there is record, as, Moses, Jacob, Hannah, Samuel, David, Jeremiah, &c.; a rock, a present help in time of trouble. "O Lord thou drawest near unto me; in the day that I called upon thee thou saidst fear not," &c. Ps. vi. 9, Ps. xviii. 1—6, Ps. xxii. 1—24, Ps. xxxiv. 4, Ps. lv. 17, Ps. cxvi. 1—8, Ps. cxviii. 5, Ps. cxxxviii. 3.

Cities of refuge, Num. xxxv. 6, 14, 15, Deut. xix. 2—13, ch. xxi. 1—9, Luke iii. 4—6, which in what is connected therewith may be comprehended in the following particulars:—

1st, In their author, the Lord, Num. xxxv. 1.

2d, The time and place of their institution, by divine appointment, were, while Israel were in the wilderness, on their way to Canaan.

3d, The manner, by charge from the Lord to Moses, Num. xxxv. 1, by whom the charge was delivered to Israel, Deut. xix. 2, in the delivery of which, only three cities are mentioned at first, v. 3, then other three v. 9.

4th, The time of enjoying these cities, when arriving at Canaan and obtaining it, Deut. xix. 1.

5th, The respective places for the enjoyment of these cities of refuge were, Num. xxxv. 14, three on this side

Jordan, where Moses and Israel then were, v. 1, and three cities in the land of Canaan, which last three, are alluded to in Deut. xix. 2, "in the midst of thy land." Formerly the altar of God seems to have been an asylum Exod. xxi. 14; or else the words, "thou shalt take him from mine altar," had a respect to him who by special office served there, meaning that even he should be taken from it.

6th, The number of these cities of refuge in whole, was, Num. xxxv. 13, 14, 15, six. The forty and eight cities, v. 6, were for the Levites, v. 7.

7th, Their situation, "on this side Jordan," Num. xxxv. 14, and "in the midst of thy land," Deut. xix. with open access to expedite fleeing thither, and perhaps Luke iii. 4—6, is in allusion thereunto.

8th, Their end, to protect from the avenger of blood, one who had killed another by accident, unawares, without malice or design, Exod. xxi. 13, Num. xxxv. 11, 15, 22—25, Deut. xix. 4—6; to prevent the execution of death, until the case was tried by a legal process, Num. xxxv. 22—25, and if found not designedly done, the slayer was free; while if he were overtaken and slain by the avenger of blood, the latter would have been reckoned guiltless, Deut. xix. 10. To these cities, all, even the wilful murderer, might flee, yet upon inquiry, and discovery of his guilt, he was to have no refuge, Num. xxxv. 16—21, 30, 31, Deut. xix. 11—13. God did not allow wilful sin, v. 21, "life for life." In the jubilee did not free such. For murder, no sacrifice was appointed, Ps. li. 16.

9th, The subjects of the privilege of these cities of refuge, Num. xxxv. 15, the children of Israel, the stranger, and the sojourner

10th, The time of remaining in these cities of refuge, Num. xxxv. 25, 32, was until the death of the high priest. But this sparing the slayer, and allowing him to return into the land of his possession, was only when his slaying was accidental, v. 22, 23.

11th, The duration of these cities of refuge, and the

observation of all Divine injunctions respecting them, Num. xxxv. 29, "throughout your generations."

12th, The reason of not allowing the designed slayer to pass unpunished, Num. xxxv. 33, because blood defiled the land, which could only be cleansed by the blood of him that shed it, and because of the Lord's dwelling among Israel, v. 34. The allowing of murder to go unpunished has a guilt that lies on a land, by the neglect of the instituted executive power. The manner of dealing in the case of the murderer being unknown, is described in Deut. xxi. 1—9.

Marriage, which, in its origin, author, end, continuance, rule, effect, the frequent wrong motives, the advantages that arise from being herein connected with one that is good, and the disadvantages arising from connexion with one that is not good, the evil of improper and unnecessary previous intercourse, leading to sin and its evil, in itself and in its fruits, on parents and children, by parents sinning with one another, or with others, before or after marriage, I intend, if the Lord will, to make the subject of a small treatise by itself; all I shall notice here, therefore, is, that marriage is competent to all classes of mankind. While the ancient economy disallowed and punished whoredom, Deut. xxii. 21—25, marriage was allowable, Exod. xxi. 4, for a bond Hebrew male; yea, for a bond-maid with her master, v. 8, or with his son, v. 9, Deut. xxi. 11—13; 1 Chron. ii. 34, a Hebrew daughter with a Gentile male servant, v. 35. Rahab, not a bond-servant, but a native Gentile, had been married to Salmon, Matt. i. 5, of the tribe of Judah, v. 3, Luke iii. 32, 33; and while she is reckoned among the worthies for her faith, Heb. xi. 31, which was the procuring instrument of her preservation, James ii. 25, she, in her person and posterity, is reckoned amongst those from whom David and his Lord did spring, Matt. i. 5, 6. Neither on account of a state of bond service, nor even of being native Gentiles, was marriage denied with native Jews, if these Gentiles had become church members; Ruth, the Moabitess, was married to Boaz, Ruth iv. 13. Those in Ezra. ix. 2, 14, ch. x. 3, 19, were natives of Canaan,

ch. ix. 1, continuing in abomination, and had not become church members. Neh. xiii. 1, 2, refers to Deut. xxiii. 1—4, and the continuance of these Canaanites in their customs, and the effect thereof in children is expressed, v. 23, 24, referring to Solomon, v. 26. While marriage was thus obtainable, it was enjoyable by protection, Levit. xx. 10, Num. v. 11—31, Deut. xxii. 22. Yea, as a privilege for the prevention of sin, she that had been guilty before marriage, was to be stoned to death, v. 22—24; which showed the Divine displeasure against that sin, setting an odium on it, to check its commission by both fear and shame.

Good usage, in the equal administration of justice betwixt man and man, by the exercise of retribution in righteousness, Exod. xxi. 22—25, Levit. xxiv. 17, 19—22, Num. xxxv. 16, 17. Yea, for the loss of an eye or a tooth, the bond-servant obtained his freedom, Exod. xxi. 26, 27, Deut. xix. 21; and all this according to truth, Exod. xxiii. 1, 3, 6—8, Deut. i. 16, 17, ch. xix. 15—20, ch. xxiv. 17, Lam. iii. 35, 36, Mal. iii. 5; affording protection to the subjective and defenceless, Exod. xxi. 12, 16, 18—20, Levit. xxiv. 17, 21, Num. xxxv. 30—34, Deut. xxiv. Also, instead of life being allowed to be taken through caprice, or wanton cruelty, precaution was to be taken against danger, Deut. xxii. 8. Satisfaction for murder was not allowed, Num. xxxv. 31. Exod. xxi. 20, declares that the master shall not pass unpunished, unless the servant whom he had smitten shall survive a day or two, and Deut. xxv. 1—3, was not for fault in the servant, in that character, but for wickedness; and when herein the master was guilty, in the punishment he did share. Some of these places of scripture contain a threatening, but this was also a privilege, its end being to prevent sin, and this administration extended "to any man," Exod. xxi. 12, Levit. xxiv. 17.

Though there was no uncircumcised bond-servant, Gen. xvii. 12, yet upon forbearing from blasphemy, Levit. xxiv. 16, and idolatry, Exod. xxii. 20, and by externally observing the Sabbath, Exod. xx. 10, there was allowance for Gentiles from afar to dwell within the



boundaries of Israel's territory ; and those had access to the hearing of the reading and expounding of the law, and to all ordinances in the outer court, though they did not become church members by circumcision ; and while they thus dwelt in the dominions of Israel, they were called " strangers within thy gates." But the door of the church was as open to these as to the seed of Abraham, and upon their becoming circumcised, they became church members, entitled to all church privileges, and bound to observe all Divine institutions, along with the rest of the church, and were no longer strangers within the gates. So none were proselytes who did not submit to the whole of the Divine institution. Levit. xvii. 12, 15, is different from Deut. xiv. 21. However, those who submitted to the three fore-mentioned things, and waited on ordinances in the outer court, might have been called proselytes of the gates ; but the circumcised submitted to the whole. Of these strangers within the gates, some were hired servants to Israel, and some were not. Though, while the stranger was without, he was not acknowledged by God in a gracious way ; yet while the door of the church was open, some came in, and upon their doing so, God acknowledged them, and required the church to own them. Thus for servants, even of Gentile extraction, there was admission into the church, and to a participation in all the special privileges that she did enjoy ; for which there was provision made in the covenant of circumcision with Abraham, Gen. xvii. 12, 13, which was one, in number and in kind, to the native seed of Abraham and to Gentiles ; and the extending of it to these Gentiles showed the exuberant riches of Divine grace, so that neither Gentilism, nor service, bond or free, from a share in the covenant-privileges did preclude.

Even the prohibition, Deut. xxiii. 1—3, 8, respecting several characters and classes, with the reasons, specifically expressed of some, and of the rest implied, did not preclude from admission into the church, nor from the means of salvation along with Israel at large. While the condition of those referred to in v. 1, prevented posterity, those in v. 2, 3, were to enter in their

tenth generation, and those in v. 7, in their third. Now, the tenth of the three former, and the third of the two latter, must have been dated, not from the time of the direction respecting the whole of these classes being given, because it is said, v. 3, "for ever," which signifies a standing rule during that dispensation; and so the termination of the time, respecting the persons alluded to, must have been dated from the admission of the parents, by their becoming proselytes; which shows that antecedent to the allowance of the posterity entering the congregation of the Lo. 3, the parents were not precluded from the privileges common to Israel in general; and that the congregation here is the congregation of office-bearers, elders, judges, and rulers, Ps. lxxxii. 1. Also, while in v. 3, is stated the reason of the preclusion of Ammon and Moab; there is no reason given for that of those mentioned in v. 2, 7. There is only mention of their classes, and while v. 2 was a testimony of God's displeasure at the unlawful way in which they were begotten, v. 7 referred to those who were out of the church, and had also been in opposition, Num. xx. 14—21, Exod. i. 8—14, ch. v. 6—19, ch. xiv. though they had not gone so far as Ammon and Moab, who were also illegitimate children. For the preclusion of those in v. 1, there is no reason given, nor does it respect any particular descent; but it respects the character and condition of persons who might have been native Israelites, and, therefore, in the church and congregation of Israel in general; and some might involuntarily have been brought into that condition, though perhaps most frequently it was of their own consent, by becoming eunuchs, Matt. xix. 12, which also deprived of courage, and thereby partly rendered unfit to rule. And though becoming eunuchs was against the law of nature, yet it was to counteract this law that was altered and vitiated, and to prevent danger, or yet even jealousy; and history informs us of persons in the character of eunuchs being employed in waiting on princesses, and in very high respect among men, as Acts viii. 27, 28. And we find a language of tenderness, kindness, and respect, immediately from the mouth of God concerning them, Isaiah lvi. 3—5, and the con-

duct of one, very humane and approvable, towards Jeremiah, ch. xxxviii. 7—13; and marks of Divine regard towards him, ch. xxxix. 15—17. Also, in Acts viii. 37, the Ethiopian eunuch was reading, and was shown to be an object of Divine choice, in the communication of Divine favour in his conversion. Our Lord speaks of eunuchs in language of respect, Matt. xix. 11, 12. From the whole thus observed, whether Deut. xxiii. 1, was natural, accidental, or designed, the principal reason of the preclusion from the assembly or congregation of rulers, appears to have been to show that office-bearers were typical, and did not admit of natural defects upon that account. Natural defects were disallowed in priests, Levit. xxi. 17—23, or deformity in bodily parts, as in the progress hereof we have seen that the beasts to be sacrificed were required to be without blemish. However, that preclusion was not on account of servitude, bond or free, nor did it reach Gentiles at large, but was restricted to Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians, and bastards; and this last class might have been of Israelites. This preclusion was a stigma upon all these, but upon persons who were free of the procuring cause, no such correction was laid, nor did it preclude even its subjects from the means of salvation with Israel at large, and it only lasted during that dispensation; hence, Acts x. 28, "Call no man common or unclean." Yea, very observable it is what care the Lord shows respecting strangers and servants, bond and free, that they might participate with the church, exhibited in the charges given to her for the modifying of her conduct towards these in their respective characters. Instead of severity without cause, or without measure, the church was directed to look back to what was her own condition in Egypt, Deut. xxiii. 7; and the relation of brotherhood with Edom, the descendant of Abraham, in order to keep from an exercise unnecessary and unbecoming; and the children of Edom, or Esau, the brother of Jacob, were to be admitted into the congregation in the third generation, and also the Egyptians.

Although for preserving the church pure in her ordinances and in her members, there was an appointed

order, proceeding from the authority, holiness, and grace of God, yet, by observing that order, there was access to all that the church did enjoy. While the former preclusion was limited as to persons, degree, and duration, it did not reach Gentiles at large. A native Gentile proselyted, might, in accordance with Deut. xvii. 14, have become a king. The stranger is one not a church member. After the regal government was set up, the kingly office was by Divine Sovereign authority made hereditary in the line of David; but even he was half a Gentile, and yet from him did Christ, his Lord, descend, and both were of God's choosing, Ps. lxxviii. 70, 2 Sam. vii. 12—17, Jer. xxxiii. 17—22, 26, Ps. ii. 6; and David in his posterity, upon obedience, was to sit on the throne for evermore, Ps. cxxxii. 11, 12, and Christ, whom he typified, continues a king for evermore. David's chief captains were also Gentiles. The prophets were of any tribe, and even of Gentiles.

Holiness, righteousness, sovereignty, and wisdom, directing the whole of the Divine administration towards the Church, upon the destruction of the first born of Egypt, Exod. xii. 29. and the preservation of Israel, the Lord, in a peculiar manner, claimed all the first born of Israel, ch. xiii. 2, and gave injunction to the keeping of the feast of unleavened bread, to commemorate this complex dispensation of judgment on the Egyptians, and of favour towards the church, v. 3—16. Num. viii. 17. Afterwards the priesthood was established in Aaron, and his sons in succession, Exod. xxix. 9, ch. xl. 12—15. Upon the zeal of the tribe of Levi for the Divine glory, ch. xxxii. 26—29, the Lord was pleased to appoint the whole of this tribe to the service of the temple and tabernacle, Num. iii. 5—13, instead of the first born of Israel, ch. viii. 5—18, and to give to Aaron, who was of the tribe of Levi, the rest of this tribe for assistance, v. 19, 1 Chron. xxiii. 28, 29, 2 Chron. xxix. 34, for slaying the sacrifices; ch. xxxv. 10—14, and to purify the holy things by preparing the shew bread, and wine, and oil, for the sacrifices; and part of the Levites formed the temple choir, in which was music, vocal and instrumental, on wind and

stringed instruments, Ps. lxxxvii. 7. For his zeal against lewdness, the Lord confirmed the priesthood in the posterity of Phinehas, the eldest son of Aaron then alive, Num. xxv. 11—13. Hereby, into the office of the priesthood, Israel in general could not have been admitted, nor even all the tribes of Levi. For the impious attempt was made, Num. xvi. 1—35. Yea, under the former dispensation, natural defects rendered even Aaron's sons unfit, Levit. xxi. 17—21; and by reason of this, or of some moral defect, the office of high priest interchanged from the line of Eleazer, the elder branch, to that of Ithamar, the younger, for a time, probably on account of the wickedness of the sons of Eli, who were not permitted to succeed their father, 1 Sam. ii. 27—35; but it returned to the elder branch in Zadok, 1 Kings ii. 35. However, during the translation, the posterity of Phinehas, the son of Eleazer, were in the priesthood, though not in the order of high priest, so that Num. xxv. 13, remained true.

Though the land of Canaan was divided to native Israelites, and though, for preserving the genealogies distinct until the coming of the Messiah, and for the tribes inheriting their respective allotments in the promised land, there was an appointment, Num. xxvi. 33, 53—56, ch. xxvii. 1—11, ch. xxxiii. 54, ch. xxxvi. 1—12, Levit. xxv. 25—49, Joshua xvii. 3, 6, ch. xiii. ch. xiv. 1, 2, Ruth iv. 3, 6, 1 Chron. vii. 15, Job xlii. 15, Jer. xxxii. 8, yet, according to Deut. xxv. 5, a native Gentile having become a believer, could be introduced into the inheritance by marriage. The stranger disallowed, is one without the church; and the husband's brother is a church-member, but not a brother by kindred, for the allowance of marriage with such would have been contrary to the expressed law, Levit. xviii. 16, ch. xx. 21, and have occasioned confusion. Indeed, the first born's succeeding in the name of the former husband shows that the husbands were brothers, ~~not by blood~~, but by church-relation; and uncles and uncles' sons are reckoned, Levit. xxv. 47, 49. For, to consider Deut. xxv. 5, as referring to brethren by the same mother would be to allow confusion. Of these being literal brethren, Judah's conduct, Gen. xxxviii.

3, 9, was no proof; for he was wrong both in design and in conduct, v. 17--26; and Tamar was wrong in expectation and design and guilty of wanton wickedness with Judah, and his conduct herein was wrong although she had not been his daughter-in-law, v. 15, 16. The Sadducees, in Mark xii. 18, were in error, v. 24. Levit. xviii. 14, does not refer to a literal sister, but one by privilege and profession; and adultery with any man's wife was punishable with death, ch. xx. 11. The case of Ruth likewise afforded no proof of this; for although Boaz was a near kinsman, yet he was not a brother to her former husband, for he had no brother; and her marriage with Boaz showed the allowableness of such a connexion betwixt a native Gentile proselyte and an Israelite, and the attainableness of it with one having a possession in the land. The case of Zelophehad's daughters occasioned an explanation of this law, Num. xxxvi. showing that it related only to families of tribes, and allowed a choice, v. 3, 4, 6--9; and accordingly, these daughters of Zelophehad married their father's brothers' sons, v. 11, descendants of Manasseh, v. 12, one of the sons of Joseph, ch. xxvi. 28.

While some might have been brought into inheritance by the law promulgated in Deut. xxv. 5, the Lord was careful that those whose condition was otherwise should have provision by the gleanings of the fields, which was declared to be for the stranger and sojourner. At any rate, Gentiles sojourning among the Israelites wanted nothing necessary. While the latter possessed the land the Gentiles could have of the produce for money; an inheritance is not always best, and the want of it in their case was only the want of that which came to Israel as it does to many, and is not considered as what all are entitled to. It is not the want of possessions for bond-servants in the colonies that is the matter of complaint, but the want of what is equal and right.

Along with the rest of the church-servants, bond and free, Hebrew and Gentile, home-born, and sojourners, and strangers, strangers who were proselyted had, by way of privilege, one ordinance, in a participation of sacrifices, offerings, and feasts, and one law, and one manner of law, as to the observance of all ordinances,

statutes, and institutions, with reference to Divine worship. And even such of these sojourners as were not proselyted participated in the benefits of the cities of refuge, and in an equal administration of justice between man and man, without exemption upon account of being strangers or sojourners. While it was for sin that the fore-mentioned destruction was inflicted, Deut. xx. Num. xxxi. ch. xxv., so in the Lord's manner of dealing towards his church and towards strangers, are shown this equity and goodness, along with his holiness, and thereby the goodness of the statutes or judgments of his mouth; and it was for disobedience of these that he threatened and inflicted the severe judgments of his hand.

**Wages.**—Even respecting pecuniary things the religion of the Hebrews disallowed them from depriving any of that which was just and right. The using of a labourer's work without paying him his wages was threatened, Jer. xxii. 13, Mal. iii. 5. The reaping of the fields without wages being afforded, had a cry that entered the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, James v. 5, 8, Col. iv. 1. That hired servants received wages is evident from Levit. xix. 13, Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. Here is no mention of wages in kind, nor in quantity; and yet wages were given to bond-servants, and the absence of all mention hereof is no proof that they did not receive. That bond-servants were remunerated appears to have been the case also from Levit. xxv. 49, because, if through poverty the Hebrew was sold unto the stranger, how could he have redeemed himself unless he received wages, and more than was sufficient for his support. To be sure he received the price given for him upon his being bought; yet, if it was through pressing poverty, or to pay his debt, that he was reduced to this necessity, a part at least, if not the whole of the price, was required to defray the debt. And, besides, if it was not customary for heathen bond-servants to receive wages from their Hebrew masters, how could it happen that wages should be given by those who were not only originally Gentiles, but perhaps continued so still. Also, all male members were required not only to attend

thrice in the year at the place which the Lord himself should choose to place his name, Deut. xvi. 16, 17, but also to bear a part in supplying the priests, which is called "not appearing empty before the Lord," v. 16; and, without something more than food and raiment, bond-servants could not have done this. "Worth a double hired servant," Deut. xv. 18, does not imply that this double value was on account of the want of wages, but because of the time, six years, double three years, and seems to intimate that the wages were the same for both these periods, Deut. xiv. 28, Levit. xxv. 50, 53. Yea, Israel in Egypt had flocks, Exod. x. 26. Bond-servants differed from hired servants, not so much in the work or the remuneration as in the duration; and according to the different terms of agreement did the servant receive his wages. Bond-servants had reward according to the terms and tenure on which they were obtained. If it was by voluntarily selling themselves they knew what they had to expect, and if little constant current, they had the more at first. If they were sold for crime they had it to view as the cause. However, by Divine appointment they were not allowed to want what was necessary, while their employment was various, consisting partly in the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and the tending of cattle, Joshua ix. 21, 23, 27. What a number of strangers were in the land of Israel in Solomon's time, we see by 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18.

Good usage, sympathetic, kind, and discreet.

1st, By Divine command. The giving of the law, for the receiving of which there was such a preparation, Ex. xix. 10—21, and in the delivery of which there were such striking attestations of Divine majesty and power, ch. xx. 18, was followed with marks of Divine notice and care from the same fountain of majesty, with directions to the church, especially to those in authority, respecting strangers and servants in their subjective, destitute, or helpless condition, Exod. xxi. 1—11; how to obtain servants, male and female, and how to use them, ch. xxii. 21, 22, not to vex nor oppress a stranger, nor to afflict any widow or fatherless child; with marks



of his notice, v. 23, 24. In ch. xxiii. 9, Israel are commanded not to oppress a stranger, and as an inducement to this they are directed to it from principles of affection, from severe past experience, Levit. xix. 33, 34, with an interposition of the majesty, and the relation of him from whom the command proceeded. In Dent. x. 12—19, there is a command to love the stranger, the reasonableness of the duty arising from the authority, propriety, and relation of him that enjoined it, and from the consideration of the sovereignty of his love, and the condescension of him in his grace; his impartiality, and the need of inward circumcision of heart, which was signified by that which was outward in the flesh, and from a view of him taking actual account of the helpless, resenting injury, Ps. lxxviii. 4, 5; proposing this his concern as a ground of hope for the helpless and the oppressed, and as an example and motive for inducement, reminding Israel of their former condition, &c. In Dent. xxiii. 7, Israel are forbidden improper feelings towards Edom, because of brotherhood, and towards an Egyptian, having been strangers in his land. Oppression of a poor hired servant, whether a brother or a stranger, is forbidden, Dent. xxiv. 14, 17, 18; and also the perverting the judgment of the stranger or the fatherless, or the taking of a widow's raiment for pledge, with a call to remember their own former condition, and what the Lord had done in redeeming them, and his reasonable authority to command equity and kindness towards strangers. For perverting the judgment of the stranger, fatherless, and widow, a curse was to be pronounced, to the righteousness of which all the people were to say, Amen, Dent. xxvii. 19. An escaped servant was not to be delivered to his former master, Dent. xxiii. 15, 16. Israel were required to relieve a poor brother, or a stranger, or a sojourner, Levit. xxv. 35. Liberality is also commanded, Levit. xix. 9, 10, ch. xxiii. 22, Dent. xiv. 29, ch. xv. 7, 8, ch. xxiv. 19—21, by leaving the gleanings of the fields and vineyards, in language of sympathy, tenderness, and compassion, similar to that formerly used respecting strangers; and the good arising from obedience to the command of God herein, to be returned into their own bosom by the Di-

vine countenance blessing the works of their hands, as a mark of his regard to this exercise, in the fulfilment of his promise, given as an encouragement, Deut. xiv. 29. Divine care was afterwards shown for bond-servants, Jer. xxxiv. 8—22, and Zech. vii. 8—14. For shutting the ears contrary to the command of God against the cry of the poor and needy, judgment came from him upon the transgressors, and in their trouble he refused to hear their cry. While a stranger was one not lineally descended from Abraham and who had no inheritance by gift for an unalienable possession, Gen. xii. 1, ch. xxiii. 4, ch. xxxviii. 1, &c. v. 11, Ps. cxiv. 1, Acts vii. 5, ch. xiii. 7, fatherless and widow signify and comprehend the helpless and the defenceless, and herein the case of the stranger is included, Ps. xli. 1—3. 2. In experience voluntarily given by those of the church to some very worthy, Gen. xv. 2, 3, ch. xxiv. 2—30, ch. xxxix. 5—8, ch. xli. 38, 44, all discovering traits of kindness on the part of masters. By the good condition of servants they might well have said, "I love my master and his house," Deut. xv. 16. In ch. xxv. 2, 3, beating was not restricted to a state of servitude, but was a part of the common law for crime in the wicked; and when the master was guilty, in this punishment he did share. Even by heathen masters and heathen kings great favour and respect were shown to some of the church, as to Joseph, and to Daniel, because of their being good, on account of which, regard in Divine superintendence was shown, Gen. xxxix. 1—6, 21—23, ch. xl. 4, ch. xli. 37—44, &c. Daniel, ch. vi. 18—28; and Joseph, a stranger and bond-servant at first, and Daniel, a stranger though not a bond-servant, were both good men and profitable to these kings and to others; and how were Joseph and Daniel what they were but by religion, which is absolutely necessary for poor West Indian slaves, for the salvation of their own souls, each of which is of more value than all the fruits and all the mines that these colonies contain, as was shown by the price paid for the redemption of the soul by him whose is the earth and the fulness thereof, and by the means appointed for the application of this redemption, the retarding of the pro-

gress and success of which means he surely will resent, and the furtherance of which he surely will bless; and of delay, the oppressed, perishing condition of these poor slaves does not admit. In the cases alluded to a bond-servant or a stranger was not looked upon as of another species, incapable of improvement or of enterprise.

In tracing the Divine administration, I have observed the Divine care so constantly shown, recognising bond-servants, requiring that in all privileges they should participate with the church, and where there was any preference it was to Hebrews because of brotherhood; and this requires favour from West Indians to African Gentiles. The privileges of bond-servants under the ancient economy were not abridged by Christ nor his apostles under the new, Gal. iii. 26—29, Col. iii. 11.

The whole order that I have observed, as to the way of obtaining bond-servants, and using them, is the appointment of the self-existent peerless majesty of Him whose kingdom is over all, and whose authority none can decline, and whose will is displeasing only to those who are depraved and perverse, just because they are ill themselves, but on which account, present obligation to the precept of the law, or subjection to the penalty in case of disobedience, they cannot evade.

As in the former paragraph Mercator allows modern slavery to be irreconcilable to the principles of humanity and natural justice, so here it appears to be contrary to Divine institution, unwarrantable by Divine authority, statute, or dispensation, and contrary to Divine justice in the government of the supreme ruler, and to holiness in him in his nature and ways.

Since for the existence of modern slavery no warrant can be drawn from the word of God, which will try us all at last whether we will or not, and which directs us to Christ, and how to walk in him; so what I have here said respecting slavery will equally apply to every place where it does exist, and to all legislative powers by whom it is authoritatively allowed.

Three numbers of Blackwood's Magazine were sent me, containing four letters relative to the British Colonies, by James M'Queen, Esq., Glasgow. The first of

these letters is in No. clxii. pp. 223—253; the second is in No. clxxvi. p. 186. The third letter is in the same No. pp. 187—213; the fourth is in No. clxxviii. pp. 454—466. The pages of these several letters being different in number, in referring to any passage in either, it will be sufficient for me to mention the page.

In pp. 191, 2, 3, M'Queen says, "Amongst the Hebrews, God's chosen people, personal slavery always existed; while, it may be observed, that the laws of Moses merely regulated a state of society which had previously existed in every country, as may be seen by looking into the history of Abraham, and the people and princes contemporary with him. Slavery amongst the Hebrews was of two kinds, temporary and perpetual. The *first* state was the servitude of Hebrew to Hebrew, and which was limited to the year of jubilee following the commencement of his bondage, on which year he was dismissed free; but if his master had given him a female slave to wife, he could not take his wife nor the children by her with him. They remained the property of the master. So strongly did the Hebrew legislator and law guard property in right of inheritance, that the indissoluble ceremony of marriage was, I believe, never performed to slaves; but the union which took place betwixt them was that concubinage which existed amongst the Jews, not in itself immoral, but which, in law, gives no legal right to the children to inherit any property in absolute right.

"Let me quote the law, the words and command of JEHOVAH himself from Mount Sinai:—'If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve; and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself. If he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she have born sons or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children, I will not go out free: Then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him to the door or the door-post, and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve

him for ever,' Exod. xxi. 2—6, that is, he shall be his bondman for ever.

"Perpetual servitude amongst the Hebrews was restricted to the purchase of the Heathen around them, and of the children of strangers settled under their government; and which individuals, so purchased, with all their descendants, became by law the master's property—'his money,' in absolute right—'for ever.' Let us adduce the law itself:—'Both thy bond-men, and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession: And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession, they shall be your bond-men for ever; but over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour,' Levit. xxv. 44—46. 'And if a man smite his servant, or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished; for he is his money. And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish; he shall let him go free for his eye's sake,' Exod. xxi. 20, 21, 26. The express law of the Almighty having thus fixed the legal slave his property in *absolute right*, it follows that such a state of civil society was neither contrary to HIS law; nor morally wrong in his sight. The bondman thus legally constituted property, the Decalogue, eternal as its authority, unchangeable as its judge, guards, along with every other species of property; and this great and unchangeable moral law applies equally to whatever the law, of any country or people, in any age, constitutes property, as it did to the Jews. This law, delivered by Jehovah from Sinai, amidst earthquake, thunder, and flame, my anti-colonial opponents will surely acknowledge was given by the founder of Christianity. Its sublime introduction says so. Let us for a moment attend to it, Exod. xx. 1." He then refers to the fourth

and to the tenth commands, and says, "the Hebrew word, bond-servant, means slave," and refers to Gen. xvi. 1—3, ch. xxi. 10—12, ch. xxx. 3, 4, 9, 13, &c. He also says, "When Jehovah drove Adam from Eden, Gen. iii. 23, to till the ground, it was *to be a slave to the ground*, which he and all his posterity have been, and will continue to be, except where some sapient British legislators have, contrary to his law, enacted, that no black man shall till the western world." In proof of what he had stated, he refers to Gen. ix. 25; Ps. cxliii. Some of these scripture passages are cited at large, and part of the Hebrew text.

To this I reply, that it is not true that amongst the Hebrews slavery always existed. When they went down into Egypt they had not slaves; and afterwards, when they were in the wilderness, we are not informed of their having any; and that the kind of slavery that is in the West Indies, ever existed among the Hebrews, I also deny. That from time immemorial slavery existed, is not denied; however, the history of Abraham, and the people and princes cotemporary with him, only show its existence amongst them.

If the express law of the Almighty has fixed the legal slave as property in absolute right, how can that state of society be called "civil"? If M<sup>c</sup>Queen meant the state of slavery existing amongst those Gentiles around Abraham, then the law of the Almighty quoted had not fixed that state, because the state of slavery amongst these was contrary to the law of God. If it was slavery as it existed amongst the Hebrews that M<sup>c</sup>Queen meant, and this state regulated by the law of God, which was surely religious, how could this state be called the state of civil society?

Which of the two kinds of servitude that were among the Hebrews, is applicable to the West Indies? Exod. xxi. 2—6, refers to the seventh year's release, and not to the jubilee, which was regular, circulating, and universal to all Israel every fiftieth year, from its commencement in Canaan, and distinct from the seventh year's release, which is plainly expressed in the Word, universally acknowledged, and not denied nor debated by any party or sect; and how ignorant of the word of

God does M'Queen show himself here in his very outset? Here also, in Exod. xxi. 2—6, the Hebrew servant goes out free. Is this the case in the West Indies? So strongly did the Divine institution guard against the unlawful detaining of the man, that as a proof of the freeness of his choice in continuing, he was required to show this in the most public manner; and even upon his leaving his master when the wife had been given by the latter and was also in a state of servitude, his retaining of her did not annul the relation betwixt her and her husband, and here she is called, not a concubine, but a wife.

When M'Queen said that marriage was never performed to slaves because it gave parents a right to the children, and that the union which took place among slaves was concubinage, and that it was not immoral, whence did he draw his warrant? That marriage was common to all bond-servants, not only native Israelites but also those of heathen extraction, I formerly showed, because there was not such a thing as an uncircumcised male bond-servant, Gen. xvii. 12, 13, "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money must needs be circumcised." This admitted into all privileges and obligations with native Israelites; and the marriage of a Gentile male bond-servant with a Hebrew female, the daughter of the master, is expressly recorded, 1 Chron. ii. 34. Any other warrantable connexion than that of marriage the scripture does not recognise; while in Levit. xv. 41, 54, we find the family declared to be that of the man who was their father. The proselyte had, by circumcision, the same privileges as the Israelites, and was under the same obligations, with reference to all ordinances, statutes, and institutions—"one law and one manner of law," Exod. xii. 49, Levit. xvi. 29, ch. xxiv. 22, Num. ix. 14, ch. xv. 15, 16, &c. And this law bound parties to instruct their children, Deut. iv. 10, ch. vi. 7, and to have them under their eye and under their care for this end.

What constitutes concubinage, or what renders a thing immoral? He who, in the manifestation of himself, is the great first sovereign glorious cause, and the

great last absolute glorious end, possessed of underived, uncreated, eternal excellencies, essentially in himself, and who, therefore, is accountable to none, who is the alone competent judge of moral rectitude in principle and operation, and who has an indisputable right to prescribe to moral agents respecting all their exercise, in their several various and mutual relations. Respecting sexual connexion at first, it was restricted to two persons, one of each sex, Gen. ii. 22—24. After the fall we do not find the original institution altered, either as the number of persons connected, or as to duration. The direction in Deut. xxi. 15, does not mean that the man had two wives at once. There was, indeed, a partial allowance by divorce, Deut. xxiv. 1; yet herein there was, 1. A cause, some uncleanness, real or supposed, in the woman; and such a priest was not to take for his wife, Levit. xxi. 7, 11; 2. A reason for this allowance, which reason was, not to deprive bond-servants of their own children, but to prevent ill usage by the husband to the wife, Matt. xix. 7, 8, Mark x. 4, 5; 3. An order, inasmuch as the first husband was not allowed to take again her who had been divorced, even though her second husband were dead, Deut. xxiv. 3, 4; to which there is allusion, Jer. iii. 1, and by doing which, the land would have been greatly polluted. In the forming of marriage connexion with captives, there was also an appointed order, Deut. xxi. 13. The captive woman was to be a full month in the house of the man before the celebration of the marriage. The dissolute obscenity in the West Indies is very different, and differently conducted; and in this obscenity owners and overseers are the most active. In this course there may be brothers having connexion with the same woman, and also sisters with the same man; yea, a man with the mother and her daughter, repeated again and again. Also, if the prevention of ill usage of old was considered as warranting the dissolution of the marriage contract, this would require the freedom of slaves, male and female, in the West Indies, to prevent the cruelty of masters whose claim is unlawful, and not approved by God, as marriage was. In consequence of the fall, and through depravity, partly of the affec-



tion, and partly of the understanding, there was much grievous departure from the original institution, issuing in mournful effects, as the native fruit of departure from the will of God; after which, clear as the sunbeams, these evils were reprov'd and corrected, by Christ's showing the original institution of two to be binding through life, Matt. xix. 4, Mark x. 6, Luke xvi. 18, Rom. vii. 1; all showing that from the original institution, deviation in any of its branches is strictly forbidden in any of the diversified forms of which man is capable. And when scripture recognises no warrantable connexion herein, except that of man and wife, Exod. xxi. 4, 5, our Lord shows the existence of sin in the very thought or desire, Matt. iii. 28, and disallows divorce except for a breach of wedlock-band by adultery, v. 32. Whatever there was of this among the Jews, contrary to Divine institution, can no more warrantably be imitated than their idolatry or any of their other sins, the recording of which is for warning, 1 Cor. x. 6—11, and not for imitation; and wicked must they be who would use the scripture record of sins for this end. If by moral agents the violation of God's revealed will be not immoral, what is immoral? Of this sin we find some of old repenting, Ps. li. 3, &c.; but herein colonists and M<sup>c</sup>Queen do not take a pattern, nor do they consider the conduct of Joseph, Gen. xxxix. 8—12, in chastity towards her in whom were vileness and falsehood combined, v. 14—18. So strongly did God guard against the violation of this part of his will that he embodied it in his moral law, Exod. xx. 14, against the breach of which he has left much in record to all who enjoy the word, Levit. xviii. 6—20, ch. xx. 10—21, Num. xxi. 1—18, Deut. xxii. 22, of threatening and execution, which, together with the explanation given by Christ, render the breach the more aggravating; and it has additional expressions of Divine displeasure annexed, 1 Cor. vi. 9, 13—19, ch. vii. 2, 1 Tim. i. 10, Heb. xiii. 4, "whoremongers and adulterers God shall judge;" "they shall not inherit the kingdom of God;" they are shut out, Rev. xxi. 8, ch. xxii. 15. Against this sin the Gentile churches were warned, Eph. v. 3—13, with the noblest

reasons, motives, and end, v. 1—33, Coloss. iii. 1—10, 1 Thes. iv. 3—5, where the privilege of the gospel is alluded to, v. 5; against which, what would the most audacious colonist or slavery-advocate object?

Concubinage the original institution, still binding, does not allow, and it, chastity, still excellent, does not admit. The thing in itself is base. The practice of it among Jews or Gentiles cannot warrant its adoption; and every thing in institution, threatening, and execution, all combined, remonstrates against it as an infringement on the laws of chastity, natural and revealed. At this of M'Queen chastity silently sighs and weeps, and loudly lifts up her voice in remonstrating against the violation of her laws so openly, against Divine institution, both before and after the fall, which were incorporated in our very excellent British constitution, and are so clearly understood in our land, that, immoral as we are, this of concubinage is reckoned wrong and unconstitutional, and is thus reprobated by the laws both of God and man, and of man recognising the laws of God. In Glasgow, where M'Queen dwells, resided worthy Durham, who has left extant a valuable exposition of the decalogue, including the seventh command. What sort of a system of slavery must it be that needs to be defended in such a manner, and what sort of men are they that would so defend it? How dare colonists, or their advocates so plead against God? To plead for concubinage for the purpose of tolerating obscenity in the West Indies, and to publish this in Britain, is surely to tread in the filthy footsteps of accursed Balaam. If M'Queen belongs to any church, she is reprehensible for allowing him so to publish, as the church in Pergamos, Rev. ii. 14, was for retaining the followers of Balaam, and the church in Thyatira, v. 20, for allowing Jezebel to teach and to seduce. And yet such is the loose corrupt state of the Church, that in almost all denominations, to her communion are admitted vile pimps, whom a good man like Job would have scorned to put with the dogs of his flock.

How is the decalogue eternal? To absolute eternity two properties necessarily belong. The one is to be without beginning, the other to be without end. Though,

in a restricted sense, the word eternal is applied to what had a beginning, but will have no end, as 2 Cor. v. 1, "an house not made with hands eternal in the heavens;" yet to that which had a beginning and will have an end, with what propriety can the word eternal be applied? Yea, to say that the decalogue is not only "eternal," but "eternal as its author," what could M<sup>c</sup>Queen mean? Did God not exist anterior to his giving his law from Sinai Mount? or, will he cease to exist when the decalogue with the whole of the revealed will of God in the Bible, given to direct men here, will cease to be used, yea, to exist? when the earth with all its works will be burned up, of which we are informed by him who knows all his design, 2 Peter iii. 10? or, does M<sup>c</sup>Queen think that this world and the decalogue securing slavery and slaves, though stolen, will continue to perpetuity without end?

With what propriety, and in what sense, can God be said to be the judge of his law, or it to be immutable as he. To be sure he is judge as to what is proper to reveal for directing the conduct of men; and though the claim of obedience in God will continue for ever, absolutely, as the existence of the subject, however rebellious, yet neither the written law simply, nor the other institutions of grace, which the church in this world enjoys, will be in the future administration of God, Rev. xxi. 1, 22. Nor is it either the preceptive or the obligatory part of the law that is meant by M<sup>c</sup>Queen, but the law as securing a right to slaves.

How does the great moral law apply to secure property of any kind in any country, unless this law be in that country, Rom. ii. 14? Do the superior privileges of the West India colonists afford them liberty to degrade their fellow-creatures because they are ignorant?

How does the law, even where it is enjoyed, secure property unless that property be obtained according to this law, which slaves in the West Indies are not? Had Bonaparte, by a rage, constituted the colonies his property, would they, therefore, have been his property, or would M<sup>c</sup>Queen have deemed them securable by the decalogue? The British law does not allow the steal-

ing of a man's property at home, but prohibits and punishes it; and should the British law allow the stealing of a man himself, any where, as if he were of less value than his property, or as if an evil action could be less evil, or no evil, in some places, if power, though in direct violation of the law, was able to commit this action with impunity from men? God's law, too, says "Thou shalt not steal," Exod. xv. 15, and yet M<sup>c</sup>Queen uses the decalogue or law, as securing stolen property of the worst kind, to which God annexed death, Exod. xxi. 16; and both the prohibition and the penalty are in duration equal to the great moral law.

Ancient Israel were God's peculiar people, in a character that none other upon the face of the earth then were, and to Israel in this character some privileges were peculiar, among which was that of obtaining bond-servants, all which I formerly noticed. But even then, stealing, pillaging, and plundering, to obtain them, as they are obtained for the colonists, was not allowed, but was punishable with death; and for seduction from God's ordinances of righteousness, M<sup>c</sup>Queen would have been hanged high as the sun, stoned to death, or else thrust through with a sword, Num. xxv. 4, Deut. xiii. 10, Num. xxxi. 8.

The people to whom this law was given had been in bondage in Egypt, from which, by Divine favour, they had been delivered by him who says, "I have surely seen the affliction of my people," Exod. iii. 7, 8, &c., and for whose deliverance such a complicated series of miracles was wrought, which deliverance in itself and in its manner, with the Divine favour and verity therein exercised, are much celebrated throughout God's written word; and the deliverance in its end, being for them to have not only freedom from suffering in bondage, but liberty to serve God according to this law and other institutions of grace, and for him to deliver them from this bondage just before he gave them this law, that they might have liberty to keep it; and before he gave it to them, to mention in its preface the favour in giving them freedom as an inducement thereunto, Exod. xx. 2, "I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the

house of bondage." How contradictory for Mr. M'Queen to use this law as a barrier against abolition, and as securing a claim to slaves who are obtained contrary to the written will of God in his Word, as well as contrary to their own will, while Israel went down to Egypt of their own accord, and while the case in the West Indies is worse than it was in Egypt, both as to sin and suffering, and deprives of native natural rights, obstructs from the enjoyment of spiritual privileges, and thus prevents a revenue of glory to God in a way of supernatural grace, while it is the designed end of all things to glorify God? Though these poor slaves in the West Indies be not the people of God's covenant and church, yet they are the creatures of his providence and power; and his written word makes known his gracious will and design for the bringing in of these slaves with the rest of their relatives in Africa, with all others of the human race, Ps. lxxii. 17, Rom. xi. 25, &c.; and this revelation by the written word makes it the indispensable duty of all who enjoy it, to be humble and thankful for their own condition, and to pity others who want the same privileges, and to rejoice in God's blessed design towards these, endeavouring the carrying of it into effect, especially ministers, to whom the imperative command was given, "Preach the gospel to every creature," &c.; and this reproves those ministers who neither go, nor endeavour to get others to go, to heathen lands, who are inactive for the enlargement of the church, and especially who would say any thing in defence of the present system of slavery, which obstructs the means of grace to poor creatures, and a revenue of glory to God.

Moreover, this referred to in Exod. xxi. by M'Queen, upon which he builds his superstructure, and for the support of which he draws such arguments by the appellations of the decalogue and moral law, was not the decalogue or moral law, which is all comprehended in Exod. xx. 2—17, inclusive; and though ch. xxi. was given from Sinai, immediately after the delivery of the decalogue or law, and though all Divine revelation is from the same fountain of authority, and consequently of the same obligation, and thereby this in

Exod. xxi. was binding, though it, with other institutions, was delivered through the medium of Moses, which the law, Exod. xx. was not, Dent. v. 22, nor was Exod. xxi. delivered amidst earthquake, thunder, and flame.

What does M<sup>c</sup>Queen mean by his interchanging of the terms, the "express law," "decalogue," "great moral law"? The term law, as used in the Word, signifies something given as a rule, and includes its obligation, while the term decalogue, as an epithet used by men, is expressive of this law in its distributive parts or commands, their number being ten.

What does M<sup>c</sup>Queen mean by saying that the law was delivered by Jehovah and given by the founder of Christianity? Whatever is in the Bible is of God, and of Divine original and Divine authority, by whichever of the persons of the Godhead more immediately it be delivered, or in whatever manner; and that the law from Sinai was given by God the Son is certified by the apostle, Acts vii. 38. Such expressions seem to imply ignorance of Jehovah, the law, Christianity, and its founder.

While M<sup>c</sup>Queen insists upon the rights of masters in bond-servants, he passes Exod. xxi. 12, 13, as to the way of their being obtained and used, and he also passes by Gen. ix. 6, given by God prior to Exod. xx. and no-wise contrary to it, nor yet rescinded nor superseded by it, but included and expressly mentioned, v. 13, "Thou shalt not kill," to which, in order to show its evil and prevent its commission, he has annexed by way of commination, Gen. ix. 6, "He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," all which by M<sup>c</sup>Queen are totally overlooked, as if he had not begun so near the beginning of his Bible, or else, as if he had been only searching for such as he thought could be construed to favour the colonists, which appears to be the case, and for which purpose he has a reference so near the beginning of the Bible as Gen. ix. 23; yea, as ch. iii. 23.

In the fourth and in the tenth commands the existence of bond-service is acknowledged in the terms male and female bond-servants, but in both these commands West Indian slavery is disallowed. In the fourth,

by breaking the Sabbath, and in the tenth, by coveting, which is the act in the mind when it does not come so far as the putting forth of the hand, which is done in Africa in stealing, robbing, and plundering, and in the West Indies by way of receipt, as an accomplice in the breach of this precept of God's moral law.

By Divine authority the decalogue, or any part of former or of latter revelation, Exod. xx. did not constitute a property in slaves in the way in which they are obtained by the colonists, but punished it with death, Exod. xxi. 16, Dent. xxiv. 7; and that which is of less value than a man, Levit. vi. 2, required restoration with the addition of a fifth part.

If Adam, and all his posterity, have by God been constituted slaves to the ground, according to M'Queen's interpretation of the text, surely he and the colonists should share in their turn, unless they be not of the posterity of Adam, as the colonists and their advocates for a long while asserted, that the Africans were not of the human race. But Gen. iii. 23, does not imply a state of servitude, bond or free, to any man. Adam could not then have been a slave to any other man. The existence of bond-service among Jews and Gentiles is admitted; it was, therefore, unnecessary in M'Queen to endeavour to prove it. But what by God was allowed among the Jews does not warrant modern West Indian slavery; and what existed among the Gentiles cannot be a precedent. In seeking to abolish West Indian slavery no British legislator is so sapient as to enact that the western world shall not be tilled in the sense of the text. The posterity of Adam would have been slaves to the ground in the sense of the text just as truly, though neither West Indian nor any other kind of bond-service had ever existed. They were so before M'Queen was rolled in swaddling bands, yea, prior to the most ancient mention of it in the Word, as referred unto by him. With the rest of his fellow creatures sharing in the curse, M'Queen has very little sympathy in dooming and subjecting a part of them to be slaves beyond the sense of the text, and contrary to the preceptive will of God. How sophisticated a wresting of scripture! I challenge M'Queen to show that Gen. iii.

23, has any respect to the manner of man being unjustly and cruelly forced into West Indian slavery; and in sapping the rights of creatures he also saps the word of God, and thereby subjects himself to the curse thereunto annexed by the God of truth who cannot lie.

What was not, or is not, according to the order appointed and authoritatively allowed by God, can have no warrant from Gen. ix. 25. Predictions are not the rule to us, but the law, Gen. xv. 13, 14. Here it was predicted of the bond oppression, but also of the Divine disapprobation and resentment. Also, Gen. xlix. 19, of Gad, a troop was to overcome him, but he was to overcome at the last; and Deut. xxxiii. 20, blessed be the instrument.

Joseph's oppression in his bondage was noticed by God, who also afforded support and favour to him, Gen. xlix. 23, 24. Bond-service is connected with that system of abomination against the evil of which stands the written record of the Divine displeasure, and for the destruction of which, in that record stands engaged the Divine faithfulness and power, Rev. xix. 18. The affliction of Israel was also noticed, Exod. iii. 7, by the great I AM that I AM, v. 14, and this same, in the perpetuity of his reign, will still notice, Ps. lxxii. 4, 12, 13, making the blessing to be extended unto, and enjoyed by, those who formerly were not the Israel of God.

He who is acquainted with West Indian slavery will deprecate being brought into it, and he who is acquainted with the Bible will see that Ps. cxxxiii. was not West Indian slavery. If we be for modern slavery as in the West Indies and other places, we must not look to the Bible for a warrant, but lay it aside and go to the existence of it among the heathen nations, and to the perverse arguments by which by wicked advocates it is supported.

In the West Indies, slaves, home-born or captured from Africa, have not their freedom at the seventh year, nor even at the fiftieth year; yea, in the course of fifty years thrice-told the joyful sound of the jubilee trumpet, proclaiming liberty, has never once been heard.

For the two-fold purpose of blaming the East Indies for the way in which they obtain slaves, contrasting it



with the way in which the West Indies obtain, and for justifying these, M'Queen, p. 231, cites Levit. xxv. 44, 45, 46, as adduced by the East Indies, and then says, "While personal slavery, providing the personal slaves were strangers, that is, individuals from other nations, was recognised and sanctioned amongst the Jews, and slaves constituted property in ABSOLUTE RIGHT by the law of Moses, the servant of God, it must be remarked that the same laws denounced the most terrible judgment against the Jews, if they reduced their fellow-countrymen to a state of personal slavery, or kept them in a state of servitude beyond a period limited by positive law, unless with their own consent; and the transgression of this law, and their adopting as part of their code this demoralizing system, namely, reducing their brethren to a state of personal slavery without limits, formed the last terrible reproof, and produced the last threatening from the Almighty, by the lips of Jeremiah the prophet, to Zedekiah, king of Judah, which filled up the iniquities of Judah immediately before Nebuchadnezzar laid Jerusalem in ashes (Jer. xxxiv. 8—22). Thus, my Lord Duke, we perceive that the personal slavery anathematized by Jehovah is the slavery which prevails in India; that is, Hindons are made slaves by and to Hindoos. The authorities who attempt to palliate it, by contrasting it with the slavery of Africans in the western world, ought therefore to be silent."

Here there is something professedly against slavery by M'Queen, and, according to the proverbial saying, it is surely time to repent when Satan reproves sin.

What is the use of the epithet personal being annexed unto slavery in the present case?

If Israel's obtaining slaves was restricted to strangers, and did not include native Israelites, how could there have been a time fixed for the release of those Israelites. If by the term "reduce," he meant making slaves of strangers, by pillaging, stealing, plundering, robbing, or invasion of any kind, this was disallowed towards strangers as well as towards Israelites or Jews. Levit. xxv. 44, did not hinder Israel from obtaining servants of native Israelites, provided they were obtained according to Divine institution. Levit. xxv. 39, does not

forbid the reality of the condition of the man being in a state of bond-service, and v. 40, expressly allows it unto the year of jubilee. The expression, v. 39, "Thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond, but as a hired servant," respects the treatment in that condition, and forbids severity, which is expressed, v. 43, and is forbidden in an Israelite to an Israelite, and also in a stranger to an Israelite, v. 38, and what was to be the treatment given to bond-servants of strangers. I formerly noticed, v. 42, "They shall not be sold as bond-men," did not forbid Israelites being in a state of bond-service, nor did it respect their condition in that state of service, but required that, upon their release at the jubilee, they should be restored to their possessions, which a native stranger bond-servant had not. Ver. 39, 40, 42, especially v. 39, 40, may have a reference to bond-service among heathen nations around the church, forbidding her to be as these, and to avoid their custom of buying and selling, Exod. xxi. 8, thus warning and guarding Israel against these evils, as of other evils, Deut. xii. 30, &c. While the law relative to bond-servants was given by Moses the servant of God, (an honourable office) M'Queen is the servant of the colonists in an unrighteous cause, in which he is at variance with himself as well as against the word of God.

Of the Jews adopting as part of their code in theory for obtaining or yet detaining bond-servants, by the addition, alteration, or diminution of what God had appointed, neither in Jer. xxxiv. nor in any other part of the word is it said, nor yet for obtaining, nor yet using in one single instance, as by the West Indian colonist is done. In Jer. xxxiv. the blame is for detaining beyond the limited time, for which those who detained were reprov'd and threatened. In 2 Chron. xxviii. 10, we read of some purposing to subject their brethren, against which they were cautioned, dissuaded, and prevented, v. 11, 15, after which, the intended subjects for bond-service were kindly used; and though these had been subjected to bond-service, yet not to cruelty and debauchery, as in the West Indies is the case, nor would they been deprived of any of the means appointed by God for his church, of which they

were a part, and for whom, along with the rest of her, he had a special superintending care constantly exercised and shown, as in the forementioned instance, in Jer. xxxiv. by threatening from himself, yea, executing instrumentally by others, ch. xxxix. 9. Neh. v. 1—13, though not directly unlawful, yet being by the general pressure of circumstances, from which the subjected were unable to recover themselves, v. 5, was remedied, v. 6—13; and to God, in the relation of their God, could all those have had recourse, and still, with this and with every other privilege of their condition, though either unlawfully obtained or detained, the description of their case, as given by inspiration, Deut. xxxiii. 29, is, "Blessed art thou, O Israel, a people saved by the Lord," &c. Though what is contrary to the revealed will of God must be demoralizing, yet by all this reproof, threatening, execution, caution, and prevention, left on record by God, the intended effect has not been produced on the West Indian colonists, who practise this demoralization towards Africans, who are brethren, the West Indian colonists being Gentiles, and not Jews more than these Africans are; and M<sup>c</sup>Queen changes the epithet, fellow-countrymen, into brethren, as if these had been synonymous; whereas, brethren, as used by him, were Jews by native descent; while countrymen might have been of Gentile extraction, and even continued Gentiles still. The conduct of those Jews, 2 Chron. xxviii. 9—15, who obtained freedom and kindness for the intended subjects of bond-service, is just what the brethren of the colonists throughout the British empire pursue to obtain freedom and kindness for poor Africans, unwarrantably obtained, used, and detained, contrary to the written will of God, as well as contrary to their own will.

Levit. xxv. 44—46, gives no direction to Indians, East or West, for obtaining slaves from among others more than from among themselves. According to the Divine institution, and for the forementioned ends, of which I have already treated at large, bond-service among the Israelites, either of themselves or of strangers, was allowed, and alike allowed; and one end contemplated in the admission of strangers into Israel's service

was, that thereby these strangers might be introduced into the church, and into a sort of treatment which, and to a participation in what, slaves in India, East or West, do not enjoy. And as to liberation at the seventh year, or yet at the jubilee, the bond-servants, in Indies East and West, are alike; and there is not more wrong in Hindoos subjecting their brethren to slavery than there is in bringing from Africa to the West Indies. Distance affords no warrant, neither does the colour of the skin, by differing from that of him who subjects; and if the Africans be more barbarous than Hindoos, they should be the more pitied, and the distance of the East Indies from us makes slavery no better nor more warrantable there, though it makes us know the less about it. There is no more warrant by reason, justice, or the written law of God for making a slave of a black man from the uttermost extremity of the globe, than for making a slave of a man with the fairest face on which the sun did ever shine, a neighbour, or even a brother. And, indeed, Joseph was both a brother and fair; however, his being sold, tho' it according to the custom of heathen nations, yet was previous to the written Divine institution relative to bond-service. And it was not for bond-service to Israelites themselves, nor to Ishmaelites, nor for the price, that was his brethren's motive in selling him, but it was from envy, and to get rid of him, by the proposal of one of them to prevent his murder. Do not colonists and their advocates know that the colour of a man's face matters not, if he be a man, *Exod. xxi. 16*? and if for traders, who by ferocity, or colonists, who are the receivers, or for their advocates, who plead for their cause—if for any of these to go to shoot a hare, a fowl, or a roe, on the property of a man at a distance, would be reprehensible, shall they plead for liberty to steal, or to kill a man, which is often done in seizing in the province and dominion of Him whose kingdom is over all, who says, "Thou shalt not steal," and "he that stealeth a man shall be put to death"? That bond-service was not only in Divine patience and forbearance permitted, but authoritatively allowed, and regulated by the Divine

will, I fully allow. But the bond-service as appointed by God among Israel can no more warrant modern slavery, than if that state of bond-service had never been allowed, or had never among them existed. The law of God prohibited the obtaining of slaves by stealing, robbing, and plundering, as is done for the West Indies, and as M'Queen says is done for the East Indies; and it also hindered prostitution, so common to both, and afforded privileges enjoyed by neither. In the East Indies how degrading is the service of slaves, expressed as mentioned by M'Queen, p. 226, removing human ordure, rubbing their masters' feet and other limbs, &c.; and girls sold for prostitution, p. 228. The very regulation of slavery in the East Indies, by the Mahomedan law, shows the wrongs of that state; and although M'Queen says, p. 226, that stealing or forcing is forbidden by their law, he also allows that it is nevertheless practised, pp. 227-8. And, indeed, while slavery in its present form exists, the slave trade, openly or hiddenly, will be practised, which shows the need of total abolition, which would effectually prevent stealing, and which nothing else will do, as long experience has abundantly shown.

The evidence afforded by witnesses, in number sufficient, appointed for that end, furnished with knowledge from being eye and ear witness to the facts, some of them testifying to their apparent loss, and which testimony in whole was accredited and sustained by the committee, stands uncontradicted, strengthened, and established by every antecedent and every subsequent evidence; and is corroborated by the sailors who carried on the shipping part of the trade, and by the testimony of the stolen, plundered, robbed, ravaged, African, in bondage on the passage, and in the West Indies; and also by some individuals who have obtained freedom, as Gustavus Vasa, who all harmoniously agree. This evidence does refute and throw back into his face as a falsehood, the account given by M'Queen of the way in which slaves in Africa are obtained, p. 194. Yea, the colonists, who, from their wicked trade, afford £3000, could employ travellers to go to Africa, and write a

history with false accounts of the way in which slaves are obtained, different from what is contained in the Abstract referred to, than which a more full evidence human testimony does not admit. The existence of slavery in the East Indies I neither deny nor vindicate, and my treatise professes the abolition of slavery every where ; and if there has been some mistake or partiality in abolitionists I do not know. As to how Africans came to be in the East Indies without a slave trade, p. 232, the reply is, that it might have been before the trade was abolished. The will of God in his word ought to be made the rule in Indies East and West. One thing, however, appears, there are not such cruelties and abuses practised towards slaves in the East Indies as in the West ; and perhaps, from this, it has by strangers been unperceived in some places in the East Indies.

After his perversion of Old-Testament scripture for his base end, M<sup>r</sup> Queen, for further support of slavery, says, p. 193, " that when Christianity was introduced into the world half the human race were slaves, and yet we nowhere find its great Author nor any of his inspired apostles denouncing this state of society as sinful and criminal, either on the part of nations or individuals. On the contrary, we find in the writings of the latter numerous injunctions and positive commands given to slaves to be obedient to their masters. In almost every part of the New Testament where the word ' servant,' or ' servants' occurs, it is in the original, ' *oulos*,' ' *douli*,' slave or slaves," &c.

To this I reply, that bond-service, as regulated by God's word, Christ and his apostles did not need to denounce sinful, but bond-service as obtained and managed in modern times by West Indians and others, the word did then, and does still disallow, wherever this word reaches, as well as it disallows idolatry or any other vice, though bond-service in any part of the world where it then existed, beyond the precincts of the church, or now contrary to the written will of God, is not specifically expressed ; and slavery did not then exist in the West Indies, where it is not according to what God allowed and regulated, but has been introduced

from heathen cruelty and wickedness; and some of the ways of obtaining bond-servants were peculiar to ancient Israel, and have ceased even to them, upon their ceasing to be God's peculiar people, by the abrogation of that dispensation. Bond-service as it was formerly among heathen nations, and as it now is among some enjoying Christian privileges and making a Christian profession, and who are thereby under Christian obligation, the apostle denounced as sinful in the way of its being conducted, by man-stealers, together with a number of things enumerated, and other things not, as expressed 1 Tim. i. 9, 10. Those servants to whom commands were given to be obedient to their masters, were presumed to be in a state of servitude according to the Divine will; and the obedience required was presumed to be to commands agreeable to the written will of God, and not to break the Sabbath, or submit to prostitution and debauchery, which the commands of West Indian colonial masters require, and which the condition of the poor slaves forces them to obey. Masters had also commands given how to behave towards servants. What was moral in the appointment of God still continues, and in this respect Christ did not come to destroy the law and the prophets, Matt. v. 17, but to obey the law in its precepts, and to fulfil the prophets in their predictions of him. What was ceremonial and typical has by him been fulfilled and abrogated, but M'Queen's filthy concubinage Christ did not come to procure, nor to allow. His conduct, in John viii. 3—11, was to refuse to gratify the evil propensities of the people who wished to ensnare him, and to punish the woman; and therefore he refused to assume the character of a judge to whom it belonged to execute the law, in punishing the act with death, Deut. xxii. 22. Yet hereby Christ did not justify either the woman's conduct or herself, but condemned it, and forbade it in the time to come: "Go, and sin no more." Christ did not come to deprive parents of their rights to their children, or the children of the care and tuition of their parents. Indeed, vileness existed then, as in the case of Herod, who had his brother's wife, but this was condemned by John Baptist, who therefore suffered, at

the instigation of the artful, vile woman, who would neither be reproved for the past nor reformed for the future, Matt. xiv. 3—11. And such inward ill will appears in colonists and their advocates, by their outward opposition to ministers who would such like reprove.

West Indian slavery is contrary to the New-Testament economy, in which such distinctions as those in the West Indies are not recognised, Col. iii. 11; where such sins as are in the West Indies are not allowed, v. 5—9; where such a frame and such dispositions of mind are required, v. 12, 14, 15; where such exercise in general is required, v. 16, with the acceptable medium of the name of Christ presented, v. 17; and relative duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, v. 18—24; and where M<sup>c</sup>Queen's concubinage, and his depriving parents of their right to their children, or children of parental tuition, is not known. In the New Testament, as in the West Indies, engines of torture, such as cats, whips, bamboo rods, collars, spokes, treadmills, stocks, &c., are not known. If we look at the practice of the New-Testament Christian dispensation, Acts iv. 44, 45, we find that they sold their possessions and parted with the price; and where there were conversions of some who had formerly defrauded, there was a spontaneous, willing returning fourfold, as by Zaccheus, Luke xix. 8. In the New Testament, indeed, servants are required to continue in service if they were in servitude when they were called, 1 Cor. vii. 20; but if freedom could be obtained, rather to choose it, v. 2, with the reason, v. 22, 23. Is this the case in the West Indies? Do the colonists divide their possessions and make the poor home-born, or the captured slave, to share? or, have colonists returned the unjust extortion to any? And is there such a brotherly conduct by the colonists as commands from their servants respect, love, confidence, and a good hope of the future state of their masters? It is said that in one instance, when an owner was dying he sent for a slave for whom he had more than ordinary respect, upon account of his faithful services, to whom he said, "I am dying, and I am to leave it in charge for you to have a burying-place among us;" to which



the poor, simple, ignorant slave replied, "O no, massa, that do me no good; I rather have money or my freedom. And besides, the devil might be coming some dark night seeking massa, and take poor negro man." From the unsuspecting ill will, in simplicity and integrity, how cutting must this have been to the dying man!

Advocates for slavery, receiving money in an unrighteous cause, against the glory, the holiness, righteousness, and authority of God, and against the real good of both the oppressor and the oppressed, may see the Divine interposition, under the New Testament as well as under the Old, in inflicting judgments on covetous monsters of cruelty and deceit, as on Judas, Acts i. 18, who purchased a field with the reward of iniquity, and, falling down headlong, burst asunder in the midst, his bowels gushing out. And this was in consequence of his conduct to Christ, Ps. cix. 1—30. Of the cruel oppressor it is said, Job xx. 5, 19, 20—27, "The heavens shall reveal his iniquity." We have another instance in the case of Ananias and Sapphira, Acts v. 1, 10, for feigned deceit, and, v. 36, 37, circumventing; while the light of Divine truth, accompanied with Divine power, inwardly on the hearts of men and outwardly in the providence of God, overcame their deceit, ch. iii. 9—17, and xiii. 6—12; and while the Divine commission and Divine qualifications were opposed to it, the Divine attestation was given in rebuke, Acts xix. 15, thus contributing to the designed end of the commission, v. 20; and while the gospel was against wrong, as it is against modern slavery, the unjust obtainers of gain opposed it, ch. xix. 24—27, as colonists and their advocates oppose ministers of the gospel who are engaged in the cause of abolition.

M'Queen in his delineation of the establishment and extent of slavery, in the giving of the enjoyment of the trade, by rights and charters, p. 193, says, that Charles II. granted a charter extending to the term of a thousand years; and on p. 194, he speaks of compensation in the case of the colonists losing their right to slaves; and, p. 462, he says, that before an old building can be pulled down, or a passage through private pro-

erty made, there must be an Act of Parliament, and compensation granted; and complains of arbitrary measures being used in seeking the abolition of slavery. In this case it is presumed that the man had a fair right to the house to be pulled down, and to the property through which the passage was to be made; but it is different with respect to property gotten contrary to natural justice and to the written law of God. Yea, in England in 1762, and in Scotland in 1779, in the supreme courts of law it has been decidedly owned, that for man to have property in man as his chattel is repugnant to justice and to the British law. In his discussion of the slave trade and compensation, April, 1792, Lord Mornington said "that, had the statutes contended for been rigidly observed, the trade had long ago been at an end. In a statute of George II. every person guilty of fraud, or violence, or other indirect means of procuring slaves, is subject to a penalty of £100." Where then was the warrant for Charles II., or any of the rest mentioned by M'Queen, to give a right by charter on creatures the subjects of the Divine government, contrary to the act of God's written will. Either as to the extent of place or time Charles had no right to grant such a thing, no not even in his own territory, and during his own life; and to the right over the south of Africa which he gave, he had no more warrant than a man would have to give his children to ravage wherever they were able. And yet, for M'Queen to speak of arbitrary measures in the restoring of slaves to that which it is the will of God that they should enjoy!!

Though slavery has long existed by fraud, oppression, and violence, and though it thus still exists in many countries, and is tolerated, yea, supported by law, that does not prove slavery to be right. Its antiquity and extent, and establishment by iniquitous thrones, Ps. xciv. 20, can plead nothing either for its being right, or being continued, but the very reverse. M'Queen's statements of the property invested in the West Indies, and of the pecuniary profit to the planters and to Britain I have not examined; because, though the West Indies were full of stalks of gold growing out of an hundred stalks more, by these slaves than by peo-

ple rightly obtained and rightly used, it matters nothing, for the way of obtaining these slaves, and their condition, are both disallowed by the law of God. Neither is the system so profitable as is pretended, and Mr. Buxton's statement is fully confirmed by the triennial returns.

With reference to Napoleon Bonaparte, so often mentioned by M<sup>c</sup>Queen, pp. 186, 251, 253, and the colonies escaping seizure by him, I reply, that the escaping of the colonies from the ravages of Bonaparte can plead nothing for the continuance of slavery therein. Though he took part with an oppressed people in France, and was a man of intrepid martial courage, and valour almost unrivalled, either in ancient or modern times, and for a while was greatly preserved; and though he exercised a sort of lenity, yet it was only when it answered his selfish end, which was ambition, by which he was led to be a man of blood without just cause, or right end and design. And he was a man in whom, from his beginning to his end, there never was even the shadow of a trait of genuine moral goodness or excellency, worthy of either admiration or imitation, and in the end he became an adulterer in the eyes of the sun. The eye of ambition in Napoleon and in Alexander was on conquest; and the eye of the colonists is on filthy lucre, which, along with the former, shuts the heart and deadens every human feeling; and the eye being fixed on the object, pursues it with eagerness and avidity, without ever once considering the means, though it were by trampling on the necks of fellow-creatures in gaining the object in pursuit, and thus, as has been said, ambition and avarice corrupt the milk of human kindness, and turn it into wormwood and gall.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter is just a transmission of facts, many of them taken from the authorized records of the constituted functionaries in the West Indies, and also from the Jamaica Royal Gazette; and yet M<sup>c</sup>Queen denies the charges brought forward in this Reporter against Messrs. Telfair & Co., pp. 198—205, by the aforesaid functionaries. And this denial is founded only on the declaration of those who endeavoured to defend wicked slavery, to whom he applies epithets of honour; and for

the same purpose he himself makes such statements as with undeniable truth will not comport. In stating the time of the labour of slaves at large, p. 458, he says it was only nine hours a day, whereas, according to a later statement, by the forty-one colonists themselves, the shortest time in one place was ten hours, and all the rest eleven and a-half hours in the field, while the picking of grass was not mentioned either by the forty-one or by M'Queen. And observable it is, that this one place, where the time was ten hours, is Demerara, a Crown colony, subject to British royal authority. The reduction of the time of labour in the Crown colonies is since then, while the whole of the chartered colonies, as to time, continue the same. When the colonists paid M'Queen for his services, was this manifest undeniable falsehood taken into account? In M'Queen this was either ignorance or a known wilful lie, which I defy him to deny. If he denied the truth, and positively and publicly asserted an untruth, in a thing capable of proof, and even testified by the colonists themselves, what will he not deny or aver?

If it be well with slaves in the West Indies, as M'Queen says, p. 203, why are they so earnest for freedom, and how are there so many deserters, punishments, and proclamations by the Jamaica Royal Gazette, seeking after these run-away slaves? In the newspapers lately there was an account of their being so happy, drinking and dancing because their condition was so good; now, if this was true, the joy was irrational, and contrary to Eph. iv. 17, 24, 29, ch. v. along with v. 3—33, Col. iii. 1—17. If it be true, as M'Queen says, p. 204, in favour of Telfair, that he was the first who attempted with success to teach his slaves reading, writing, and moral and religious instruction, it surely bespeaks the condition of slaves respecting these acquirements to have been very destitute until now, and inevitably lays blame on the rest of the colonists for either neglecting the means, or employing an improper method for this purpose, since it has by Telfair been proved that slaves are teachable.

On p. 197, M'Queen says, that slavery did not debase and degrade the Hebrews, Egyptians, Babylonians,

&c.; to which I reply, that what was appointed of God did not hurt, but what was not so did hurt; and partly by slavery in a wrong way were the Egyptians, &c. morally debased, and as to its debasing effects in the West Indies they are too evident to be denied.

However bent men are on the world, leading to injustice, extortion, and fraud of every kind, and with whatever impetuosity slavery through the world, including the West Indies, is carried on and pleaded for, even in a land of scripture light, yet, any method contrary to the revealed will of God, cannot be truly advantageous, whatever the deceptive prospect may be. Witness Adam and Eve taking the forbidden fruit. And as to the truth of men now depraved doing contrary to known right, witness Joseph's brethren selling him, and witness also their sin in their representation to their father, when

"Out of his coat of many colours they did Joseph strip,

Which, in crimson blood of slain kid to dye it, they did dip;"

and witness the wring of all in their own conscience more than twenty years afterwards, Gen. xlii. 21, 22, ch. i. 15, &c. Oh! slave-traders and slaveholders, invaders and possessors of the rights of human creatures, shall it be said in vain in holy writ that the Divine superintendence and care extend to the irrational creation, 1 Cor. ix. 9, "Doth God take care for oxen," and shall men, subjects of his moral government, and once bearing his image, and restorable still, he brought into, and held in, degradation, and deprived of the very means of recovery?

In p. 464, M'Queen says, that Africans in the colonies can neither civilize themselves nor rule each other with safety, that they are deficient in the knowledge or judgment to do either, &c. But if, arising from want of means in Africa, those newly brought from it were uncivilized and uncultivated, surely those, especially the very young, and all the posterity of slaves in the West Indies, were improveable had proper means been used; and the external means are, plainly, the knowledge of God and his will made known in his word, together with the other ordinances of his grace. The African blacks have in the West Indies been employed

in all parts of mechanical operations and in places of trust, and by experiment have proved themselves to be possessed of intellect not inferior to those who subjected them, and held them in subjection, either captors, traders, colonists, or advocates. And notwithstanding the very unfavourable circumstances of these poor slaves, instances of intelligence, sobriety, chastity, verity, and fidelity, unparalleled by those who held them in slavery, have appeared, as the Abstract Evidence, along with other accounts, abundantly show. The colour of the skin of those slaves arises primarily from climate, and then from usage, through process of time. Instead of Africa being indebted to the West Indies for civilization, as M'Queen says, p. 234, it is indebted only for the brutalization and debauchery of its inhabitants, who, after being brought from their native country, never again return. Gustavus Vasa informs us, that in his native country in Africa, the customs and manners were chaste when compared with those in the West Indies, with respect to sexual connexion, honesty, integrity, and truth; and of the most of what is said in the beginning of this paragraph, his own conduct was an exact portrait.

On p. 466, M'Queen says, that it is not slavery in the abstract that he defends; and p. 193, that more than a moiety of the human race are unfit to be in any other state, either with advantage to themselves or to the more civilized portions of mankind. But how are they unfit to be brought out of that state? The bringing of human fallen creatures out of a state of ignorance of God and alienation from him to a state of blessedness, is the end of the administration of grace among men, under the former and the present dispensations, and of the command of the departing Saviour to his apostles, and through these to his ministers still, Mark xvi. 15, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," while the West Indian slavery retards the enlargement and the welfare of the kingdom of Christ and the good of men.

Though M'Queen blames East Indian slavery, p. 228, yet he seems to approve of the continuance of such a state of things even there, and says, that after years of labour, and of error from hasty measures, the East Indian government seem wisely to have adopted

the plan of trusting to time, instruction, and good government, to meliorate and root out these widely-spread evils in civil society in India. With reference to the slaves in the West Indies, he says, p. 463, that ages of progressive improvement must precede the establishment; amongst such a race, of that rational freedom which is established in civilized states. In his pretended reform of things in the West Indies, p. 465, he contemplates a reformation of the laws and courts of justice, making the governors, judges, and Crown lawyers independent, and giving to the colonists protection and profit, after which he thinks there will be little more to do. But he says not a word of any reform for preventing the importation of slaves from Africa, by invasion and violence, nor of reformation in the West Indies from cruelty, debauchery, and the breach of the Sabbath, according to the Word of God, which is the supreme and only moral rule; nor for the slaves being brought to the enjoyment of all that it affords and confers. As to ages of progressive improvement, before these, either in time or in their effect, shall have arrived, M'Queen will have gone to his own place, as Judas to his, having passed into the other world of eternity, and stood before the tribunal of him who, amidst his supreme sovereignty, is, in the rectitude of his nature and administration, celebrated through his written word, and in all his ways, as he who will render to every man according to his work; the decision of which tribunal will, in the day of the resurrection and public judgment be seen, and through eternity felt, when the Divine favour will beam on the objects of his choice, image, and delight, who have been exercised in the prevention of sin and in the promotion of holiness; in converting sinners from the evil of their ways, James v. 20, and in turning many to rightousness. While those thus exercised will shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever, those who have been accessory, instrumental, or accomplices, will have the reverse.

M'Queen writes in behalf of slavery, and for this he is blamed, pp. 186, 187, and of this he complains, p. 454, and yet would not forbear; and herein his case

seems like unto the account of the wicked, Isaiah lvii. 20, compared to the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, and whose waters cast out mire and dirt.

Against some of the abolitionists M'Queen, p. 458, adduces Matt. vii. 1, 2, "Judge not that ye be not judged, for with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again," and then begins to judge Mr. Stephen, by calumniating his religion, and saying it was not genuine, p. 459. But hereby M'Queen is departing from the subject of slavery itself, and acting directly contrary to the scripture he had immediately adduced, thereby showing his own religion not to be genuine. The experimental and practical effects of genuine religion consist in a person being accepted in Christ and enjoying in him the fruits of God's eternal love in the pardon of sin, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit giving the hope of eternal glory, carrying on a work of grace, making ordinances and providences subservient thereunto; leading to admire, esteem, and love God and all his revealed will, to be humble and thankful, to mourn over sin first in himself, next in others, disliking their sin and even themselves in their present state upon that account; but, at the same time, pitying them, and endeavouring its prevention and their recovery from it in the riches of Divine grace, and to the glorifying of God; leading also to be much in prayer for the end, for the efficacy of the word where it is enjoyed, and for its being sent where it is not. But of this exercise, which is the privilege of all who enjoy the word and the delight of all the saints, concerning themselves, their relations, the church, &c., in the whole of M'Queen's writings I have never read, and of it in any of the colonial meetings I have never heard; and this is a proof of their cause not being right, for what is from God leads to him, and what is promised must be sought, Ezek. xxxvi. 22, 38. Of the £3000 which M'Queen received for writing for the support of slavery, p. 455, he says that he was proud, and also of the manner in which it was given. Now, to apply the term proud, either as constituting the general character of a man, or yet as a partial transient act in an individual



case, the scriptures do not approve; God "knoweth the proud afar off," Ps. cxxviii. 6. He "resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble," James iv. 6. Yea, v. 11, and Isaiah lvii. 15, 1 Tim. vi. 4, 5, Prov. xv. 25, ch. xi. 2, ch. xvi. 5, 19, ch. xxi. 4, 24. Considering the end for which this reward of £3000 was given to M<sup>c</sup>Queen, this language of his is an exposure of himself too nearly allied to the description of those in Jude, ver. 13, "foaming out their own shame," &c. whose character in calumny, v. 11, yea, v. 9, is too applicable to M<sup>c</sup>Queen.

In p. 190, he derided the minister as not giving the gospel to his people by entertaining them with a discourse upon wicked slavery and the need for its abolition, at an assembly met for this purpose. But I think that the giving freedom to those in slavery is just the gospel, Luke iv. 18, which is what the creatures need, and what it is the unalterable design of God to bestow, made known by promises; and is much celebrated in the Word, Isaiah, xxxv. 1, 2, Ps. lxxiii. 17, &c. and rejoiced in by all who have tasted that the Lord is gracious, which makes them desirous that others should be brought to do so likewise, saying, "O taste and see that the Lord is good," Ps. xxxiv. 8.

In p. 193 he speaks against the publicity courted by the opposers of slavery; and yet he himself was, both before and at that time, therein as public in a bad cause as the abolitionists were in a cause that was good and necessary. Though true religion in its principle be in the heart, leading to be humble, and never to do any thing to be seen of men for self-glory, Matt. vi. 1—6, yet, for the promotion of the Divine glory religion forbids all concealment, ch. iii. 16. Daniel prayed with his windows open, Dan. vi. 10; and the promoting of the Divine glory in the prevention of sin, and in the increase of holiness, in every competent way, is the exercise of grace in the heart.

Mr. Stephen's care to obtain and to give just, true, and well-authenticated statements, will account for his deliberate and slow progress in his writings, which M<sup>c</sup>Queen derides, p. 454. But he had need to have been more sober in his own writings, especially on

scripture, concerning which he shows himself not only void of its regenerating sanctifying effect, but ignorant of it in its letter or literal meaning, and far from that which it requires as to the maintaining of holiness in chastity. The person who receives the scripture aright, is by grace led to take God's statutes as his heritage for aye, Ps. cxix. 111, and to esteem his precepts concerning all things to be right, v. 128; "Rivers of waters run down mine eyes, because men keep not thy law" v. 136; to sigh and cry for the abominations done around them, and, instead of being accessory or instrumental (as is the case of all who endeavour to support the system of modern slavery) to the direct breach of God's holy law and the debauchery of the creatures, grace leads to love God and his law, and to grieve at its breach; and this is an exercise which has a very singular mark of his approbation, Ezek. ix. 4.

Such aspersions and vilifications are only becoming advocates of wicked slavery, and invalidate not the cause. By divine certification, Job was a man holy, upright, sympathetic, and wise, had very high marks of divine approbation, ch. i. 8, ii. 3, and xlii. 8, and was justly held in honour and esteem among men, ch. xxix. 7, 25; he broke the arm of the oppressor, delivered the poor that cried, and in his servants, male and female, he recognised an equality with himself, ch. xxi. 13, 15, and distributed his own to the needy, v. 22, Prov. xxix. 7, and xxxi. 9. And had Job been now alive, he would have been chief in the cause of the abolition, excelling all those whom M'Queen reviles, and excelling them in that for which he reviles! Moreover, it is the duty of those to be employed in the cause of abolition, their honour to be reviled, and their sin that they are not more worthy. M'Queen would need to remember the Lord's direction, Job xlii. 9.

In his course M'Queen denies evident truth, and asserts evident falsehood. He denies marriage to bind servants of old, and in its place asserts concubinage, and therewith, parents' right to their children. He insists much from the law and the decalogue, and from places of scripture not the law nor the decalogue at all. He asserts that which God nowhere in scripture does, viz.:

that contrary to the Divine institution the Jews framed a code, and by it reduced their brethren into bond-slavery. He also denies the true time of the labour of slaves.

He, endeavouring to conceal guilt, would seem to deny the bringing of more slaves from Africa since the abolition of the slave-trade by law. I might here also remark his coming forward in such an important cause, and professing to use the Word of God, and then jesting and jeering about John Bull's gullibility, p. 250, rearing potatoes in the moon, p. 187, widowers wanting wives, p. 460, &c. Much of his writings consist in declamatory jeering, especially on the most worthy of those engaged in the cause of abolition; and herein he vilifies the righteous, praises the wicked, and blesseth him that is covetous, whom yet God doth hate, and all against the poor, unjustly injured slaves. But to turn aside the right of a man before the face of the Most High, to subvert a man in his cause, the Lord approveth not, Lam. iii. 35, 36. Most of his statements as to their graphical manner are orderly, but as to the foundation on which his arguments are built, and the conclusion which therefrom he draws, in things both moral and civil, he is as sophisticated as any writer that could be produced, and audacious beyond any of whom I recollect, with such seeming force as if he were to drive down the clouds; and when he is followed in his assertions, positions, and conclusions, imbecility in judgment or else willing perverseness, are prominent characters that indelibly appear.

Whatever upon religious topics may be objectionable in what I have said, there is nothing therein that in the least invalidates the cause in view. To vindicate modern slavery I challenge the West Indian colonists and their advocates, with the whole combined professors of Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, where slavery exists by law; the dominions of Austria, Prussia, Russia, Turkey, Persia, China, and Hindostan; and the minor States and Isles of Asia, Africa, &c. including Randolph Storrs, Drayton, extending south of the Ohio and west of the Mississippi, reaching M'Queen. I would set my one foot on the West In-

dies, and my other on the East, and lift my voice beyond Ohio on the south, and Mississippi on the west, and with incontrovertible arguments, refute and sweep all the sophistry by which modern slavery is supported from the face of the globe!

I would, however say, as to Blackwood's Magazine, that though there is in it, as in many other publications, much frothy and amusing matter, and though it inclines towards the Tory side, yet it is a publication that displays great talent and contains much strength of reasoning; but it was a shame for such as M'Queen to be enclosed in it.

Among our race what a variety of characters and dispositions appear, differing as the frame of the human body, in its shape, size, contextures, and visage. Some of these dispositions are merely natural, others renewed by supernatural grace, and yet these are only good in kind, but not perfect in degree, either in the judgment, the directive principle, or yet in the affection, the impulsive principle, including the will and conscience; while in persons very tender in affection or warm in a cause the affection has in some cases taken the lead. The great comprehensive objects about which men reasonably can be exercised are, the glory of God and the good of men; and the last in connexion with, and subserviency to, the first, making the grand end to be one, into which all counsels and events must be resolved.

By the fall we are all alike guilty and destitute of holiness, yet differing in natural dispositions, which, in their propensities are much formed, increased, checked, and subdued by adventitious circumstances, internal and external, some common and some special, in the great chain of the multifarious, mysterious, inexplicable, and sovereign, but righteous providence of God; and while we are all naturally selfish, some by constitution and by circumstances are more haughty and proud; and, in the exercise of these depraved dispositions, these persons when they have power are imperious, and prey upon their fellow-creatures as ravenous animals prey upon the weaker, both out of the water and in the water. But herein men are worse than these beasts, not only in having reasonable faculties, though de-

praved, but in this, that although these beasts prey, it is generally upon those of another species, while man preys upon his own species.

This principle of self, being, in consequence of the original fall, and in its motive, end, and design, a departure from the great, glorious, supreme, and comprehensive end, confines the person always to self as the end; and though it will act occasionally for the good of others, yet it is only as a means for the attainment of this corrupt, depraved end, and can have no share in Ps. xli. 1, nor experience of this, that the liberal soul desireth liberal things, and by these shall he be satisfied. Arising from the different dispositions of persons, some merely natural, and others by special grace, together with the different circumstances of these persons, they have been variously exercised for the good of others, in things temporal and spiritual, while mere natural dispositions restrict much to temporal things; or, if extending to things spiritual, they differ from special grace in this, that special grace leads to aim at the glorifying of God as the supreme end, and to regard his authority and will as the rule. And even in temporal things towards his saints, their relation to Christ is regarded, proceeding from love to God, which is said to be the fulfilling of the law in the first part of it, Matt. xxii. 37, 38, and the person's loving of his neighbour as himself, as the second, v. 39; and this out of kindness, when done in relation to Christ, ch. xxv. 35, 40, is here noticed by him, and will be openly testified by him in the great decisive day. The unrenewed man is much engrossed in the gratification of his unrenewed propensities, appetites, and desires, while the renewed delights in viewing God in his excellencies, counsels, and ways, and views with delight his plan for the salvation of men, endeavouring its being carried into effect by the spread of the means, and their success.

Persons the subjects of supernatural grace being interested in Christ are accepted in him, and have thereby a principle leading to admire, love, and obey God, aiming at the glorifying of him, and a placid temper, superin-

duced towards fellow-men, aiming at their good in all possible competent ways, connected with the Divine glory, and subservient thereunto, humble for what they themselves once were before regeneration, and for what they still are as to remaining sin; pitying others, endeavouring to stretch forth the hand for their relief; and, except when met by opposing vices and customs, unwilling to be reprov'd or reformed, grace will render persons amiable in the eyes of those who have no grace themselves. Besides what we have of this on record in the Bible, and of the Divine delight therein, as of John by our Lord; in history, ancient and modern, we have instances very illustrious thereof. Besides some in the humble vale whose foot or voice has never publicly been heard, in more public sphere in modern times we have of both sexes; as Mrs. Isabella Graham, of a very benevolent character and frame of mind, exercised and manifested according to her circumstances, of which her portrait is very descriptive. The Countess of Huntingdon, who, for the Divine glory and good of men, built churches for the supply of evangelical ministers, and spent much in this way, and had her mind so engrossed thereby, that, when she died, it was believed that she had not a gown but one. The Lady Glenorchy, who after her conversion was very spiritually-minded, avoided the vain sensual enjoyments her circumstances so abundantly furnished, was exemplary in her walk, had epistolary correspondence with the lately-mentioned Mrs. Graham, built a chapel in Edinburgh, &c.\* The philanthropic Howard traversed at home and abroad for the removal of the misery of fellow-men, even though many of these were as criminal as they were miserable; and herein he was very judicious as to the manner, that there might not be a relief from suffering at the expense of justice, nor to the occasion of sin.

When thus exercised, especially in a spiritual way, persons in all conditions have been instrumental in making others to sing for joy even here, and with themselves, and with the fair blessed company above, to sing

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\* Her life was published a few years ago.

eternal hallelujahs to God and the Lamb. And while those of public record will be justly admired, esteemed, and praised for ages yet to come, M'Queen, for endeavouring to protract that system of savage cruelty, obscenity, and destitution of the means of salvation, will be held in disgust by the nations of Europe after wicked slavery shall have ceased to exist, and when these nations will regret and lament the ever-existence of it, and of all the means by which it was supported, and will curse M'Queen, who endeavoured to support it, though for this he received the wages of unrighteousness, whether his services therein were voluntary or employed.

In the remaining part of his first Letter, Mercator, to whom I now return; speaks of the condition of slaves as not being so bad as it is commonly represented, and endeavours to apologize for what evil there is in slavery by contrasting the state of the slaves with that of various classes in Britain, and complains of interference in their behalf, and also insists upon the inexpediency of abolition, and its consequences.

I have shown what the state of the slaves is, and the destitution of all right on the part of the colonists to their gratuitous service, and also the claim of the latter to emancipation, be the consequence to the colonists and to Britain what it may, they having stepped into the shoes of predecessors in the trade. Having already enlarged far beyond my design, and having, by a circumstance not properly under my control, been so long deterred, all I shall say to Mercator is, that it is both the sin and the shame of Britain to have been silent so long at that against which vengeance—righteous vengeance—so loudly lifts up her voice. The colonists have friends throughout Britain to misrepresent the system of slavery in order to keep the country silent; but the poor slaves have no such friends to plead their cause, which can be done only by such as I, who, so far as is consistent with my duty, would not wish to displease any; yet, as I study the real welfare of all, the pleasing of them must be in subserviency to this, and to the glory of God. So in the performance of my duty, I neither court the favour nor fear the frown of any man. Whatever may

have kept the country silent so long, whether ignorance, prejudice, indifference, fear of displeasing, or fear of the want of success, yet evident it is, that the abolition of slavery is what calls for the joint concurrence of all to expose the evils of the system, to remonstrate, and to petition; and though we should endeavour to avoid offending, yet he that will always please people will not always profit them, and he that will know the issue before he sow his seed will never reap the increase; and for using lawful practical means for a necessary end, we cannot be blamed. Shall a mother tenderly look over her child, guarding it from danger; and shall its father along with her view with sympathy its distress? Shall a man falling from a precipice, or drowning, or bruised, or burned, or in some acute distemper, excite pity in the breast of an Englishman? and yet, shall slaves be violently captured in Africa, suffocated on the passage, and, when too numerous, or the ship likely to be seized, shall they be drowned; and, in the West Indies beaten, bruised, mangled, lacerated, and torn, the females debauched, and all of them almost destitute of the means of salvation, and yet the same persons remain unaffected, and allow this treatment? O what a stoical apathy would this be!

In the slave-trade by selling and buying, as answer the ends of possessors, the very tenderest ties of nature are torn asunder by slaves being so far deprived of even natural rights. While through their degraded condition the father is seldom known, the mother must give up the child that received its very existence in her womb; that she brought forth in pain, carried in her arms, nourished at her breast, and dandled on her knee, and it must give up and part from her whose eye watched its steps, whose kind ear listened to its complaints and requests, and whose fond hand, according to her penurious circumstances, ministered to its wants with parental maternal affection and care; and in bidding one another adieu, it may be never to see one another in the face again. While the mother is to continue in a state over which she has long brooded, the separation is that the child may be at the arbitrary disposal of one who may cut and lacerate its body, without any to whom it



may make its complaint to obtain either protection or redress, and to whose commands, whether right or wrong, it dares not say, nay!

Mercator, p. 10, says, "Without drawing arguments from the state of society under arbitrary governments, in the happiest communities great sacrifices of the liberty of the individual are made for the general good, and something very nearly allied to slavery exists in this justly-boasted land of freedom." But why should the general good, be supported at the expense of an individual by the unjust encroachment on any thing that to him doth belong? To be sure, to preserve order for the general good, a murderer is hanged, to purge the community of the guilty, and to be a warning to others; but this is only when he forfeits his life. For one that has not forfeited his life can warrantable death in one single instance be produced? In the constitution of God what sort of good is it that needs to be supported at the unjust expense of any man? The slave-trade is the sacrificing of the liberty of many for the particular good of a few individual colonists; and if something nearly allied to slavery existed in this land, how can it be called a justly-boasted land of freedom? or, how could what exists in it be defended, except by arguments drawn from arbitrary governments? However, the allowing of slavery arises from the administration and was not in the excellent original British constitution. Arguments drawn from the state of society in this or in any other country cannot, in justice and reason, really palliate the slave-trade, nor justify the principles upon which it rests, the manner in which it is managed, the spring whence it proceeds, nor the end to which it is directed.

In reference to complaints of abuse, Mercator, p. 12, says, "Instances of this sort have been grossly exaggerated, and, admitting the charge to be in some degree well founded, have we not heard of abuses of authority, of cruelty, and of tyranny, being exercised in every relation and condition of life? We have heard of them in the army, in the navy, and in the merchant service; but is it to be argued thence that our army, our navy, and our commerce, ought to be abolished?

We have heard, too, of brutal ill-treatment of parish apprentices, but are we on this account to put out 50 more children apprentices, and suffer them all to run idle about the streets instead of being brought up in habits of useful industry?—To this the reply is, from publications already referred unto we have such horrid information from credible avouchers as cannot be denied, which shows the charge to be well founded, and that the treatment of slaves cannot be justified by whatever abuses of authority, cruelty, and tyranny have been exercised in any relation or condition. Instances of the abuse of authority, in cruelty and tyranny in the army, navy, and merchant service, ought to be punished, and competent provision made against the like for the future. But slavery is different from these, because in it the authority is unjustly assumed as well as cruelly exercised. While proper care is to be taken to prevent ill-treatment of apprentices, yet apprenticeship is necessary; but slavery is not. If such ill-treatment of apprentices exists in a land where parents and tutors may take part with the apprentice, or in the army, navy, and merchant service, where all may apply to law for protection and redress, how can we expect the case of slaves to be good in a land where no such available application may be made. Each of these slaves is a creature of the power of God, and a subject of his government, and has a soul in its breast of more value than all the fruit that these colonies produce, and all the revenue that Britain does receive. The stopping of slavery cannot be reckoned grievous in any other way than I would reckon it grievous to be prevented from stealing or from receiving the stolen goods. The law of God forbids man-stealing, and the law of Britain, too, and should Britain tolerate abroad what it would not at home?

Letter II. of Mercator wholly relates to Africa, representing it as uncultivated, on account of the indolence of its inhabitants, thereby occasioning famine, and causing those in want to sell themselves for their preservation; and also, through barbarity, producing war which operates along with the famine in diminishing the surplus of inhabitants, causing also some to

yield themselves slaves to the conquerors to save their lives. The like is also adduced by M'Queen. For proof of his statements, Mercator refers to an account in the travels of Mungo Park, and M'Queen to others, p. 194.

The transcribing of this second letter of Mercator I consider unnecessary, what I have stated being the sum. I shall let it suffice by noticing that Mercator's account of Africa is exceptionable. Park was an enemy to the abolition of slavery, and declared his opposition to the view of the abolitionists, and was, moreover, patronized by the leading members of the African Association, who were also averse to abolition; and among the Africans he got his deserved end. He, nevertheless, p. 280, says, that the negroes in general, and the Mandegoes in particular, work very hard; but, having no opportunity of turning to advantage the surplus produce of their labour, they are content with cultivating only as much as is necessary for their support; which account is also certified by the Abstract Evidence, and accords with the general account. As a summary of his view of the Africans, the Edinburgh Review, for 1804, p. 209, says, "Their ingenuity, their desire of instruction, their parental tenderness, their filial affection, their kindness and hospitality, their gentleness and cheerfulness, their value for truth, their love of their country, and, in some instances, their magnanimity, do honour to the human character." The same excellent Review, p. 224, 5, 6, by indubitable proof shows, that, instead of the slave-trade freeing criminals from death, it is the cause of war, &c.

In representing the misery of Africa, Mercator, p. 24, says, "That few liberated slaves in the West Indies return to Africa." But if they be free they have not such excitement to leave the West Indies. Also, much money would be necessary to carry them back, and they are not sure if they would find their friends in Africa; yea, not knowing but that those of them whom they left at home there, have since been carried captive away, as well as themselves. Yea, moreover, not knowing but that though they were returning they might be captured, and brought into bondage again;

therefore, these have little inducement to undertake the returning, while some of them having been born in the West Indies never were in Africa.

Admitting the people in Africa to be in as pitiable a condition as Mercator represents, or even worse, I ask, for what end are they brought to the West Indies? Is it out of humanity, for their good to relieve them from their misery? Or, is it merely because they are in misery in Africa, and thinking it no matter how they are used if profit by them can be maintained? If the latter, how unbecoming—if the former, how unsuitably are they used! If they are in a pitiable condition at home, they should be the more tenderly dealt with by us; and were our principles and motives right, this would be the case. If people were perishing in a ship, and if I rescued them, would it be proper for me to say to them, I may use you as I please because you were perishing otherwise? Or, if two men came to my door at night, the one fatigued and hurt and in distress, the other nowise fatigued, but as well as the former needing lodging, instead of my saying that I need not care how I use the one in distress, I ought rather to consider his case as claiming more kindly sympathy and tenderness upon this very account, as the Samaritan with the stranger, Luke x. 30.—37.

Without saying any more about the need of the abolition of slavery, the appeal of the case of the slaves to government for this, the obligation of the government thereupon, the want of right in the colonists to indemnification and even their want of need of it, all I shall say will be respecting the practicability and manner of abolition.

What occasions so much fear about the practicability of abolition through a pretence of want of knowledge, and subjection, and industry in the poor slaves? Of old the native Israelites, male and female, at the seventh year's release, Ex. xxi. 2, 11, Deut. xv. 12, Jer. xxxiv. 9, were just let go free, and not a word of fear of danger of any kind. Also, at the jubilee it is said, Levit. xxv. 10, "proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." No parade here about preparation for emancipation, for delaying and

procrastination, for trusting wisely to time, and for ages of progressive improvement ! The very language and arguments of modern times as to the unsuitness of the West Indian slaves for liberation, implies a defect in the condition of these as compared with the condition of those of old, either native Israelites or strangers, none of whom were allowed to be ignorant or unconcerned about God and their relation to him, which made it a privilege for a stranger to be a bond-servant. These fears furnish a powerful argument against modern slavery, and strongly urge its speedy abolition, because of its being opposed to Divine institution.

If the condition of slaves were good the colonists would not need to be afraid for the slaves being made free, nor for their needing to do any thing to obtain their release, or resent past treatment, which latter, according to the colonists, has been so kind ; nor for children, either those already born or those yet unborn, when grown up rising in rebellion at the release.

By proper, judicious, mild measures in the liberation of slaves, connected with safety and subjection, there would be no more difficulty, than in a kind mother putting her children to bed, and with the voice of melody composing them asleep. Large bodies of slaves have been liberated, and proved as quiet loyal subjects, and obedient servants, and as industrious as any other ; proved by Thomas Clarkson, from pp. 14—44, in a variety of cases. 1. In Nova Scotia, blacks. 2. American refugees at Trinidad. 3. Disbanded black regiments. 4. Liberated captives at Sierra Leone. 5. At St. Domingo. 6. Columbia. 7. Mr. Steel of Barbadoes—all within forty years from the time Mr. Clarkson wrote. And that emancipation would be profitable to planters, p. 39, is proved from the experience and testimony of Messrs. Steel, Botham, and other West Indian planters. Also at Mexico, not in a time of peace, but of revolution and war, the slaves were all liberated at once without any disorder.

Let the use of the whip with all other compulsory means of labour be immediately withdrawn, giving sufficiency of food and of wages, which will enable and

encourage to labour for a view of personal interest. Let prostitution of the females be immediately prohibited, and the breach of the Sabbath by labour or market, together with every other thing contrary to the revealed will of God in his Word, making it the supreme standard and rule in morals, giving to slaves all that it affords, in the enjoyment of a dispensation of grace, including the Word itself, with all its ordinances, the Sabbath and a sufficiency of ministers, and also of schoolmasters to teach the poor slaves, especially to read, to be a key to the use of the word. Let a royal edict from British legislative power be given, enjoining and enforcing compliance by planters, which, if refused, will be produced by the removing of the army that subjects the unjustly injured slaves. By masters dealing mildly and kindly with slaves, and by means of civil education and religious instruction, which teach due subordination and every relative duty, slaves will of choice become good servants to the planters' profit by far. In a short time, when expedient, remove the claims of the bond-servants, and allow them to go from one master to another, which will be an inducement to the masters to use them well in order to obtain their services, and also to the servants to do well that they may obtain employment.

Upon freedom few or none will return to Africa. Even those brought thence want the means necessary to carry them back, and, by good usage, they, along with those born in the West Indies, will be induced to remain. By abolition there can be no loss to the present possessors of slaves, for the money paid by them is already gone, and they will continue to have the slaves, still, though free, labouring proportionably more, according to the usage they receive. The only loss that can arise will be to those who have bought slaves and yet have not themselves employment for them but hire them out. By the prevention of prostitution, and by the enjoyment of marriage, free and unmolested, together with all other parts of good usage suitable to the frame of slaves, there will, in the West Indies, be a produce of children, labouring more and living longer,

all thus contributing to the saving of much money that is constantly given for a supply. If, after all, a supply be necessary, let people come of choice from Africa or any where else, and, along with the rest of those already in the West Indies, get good temporal usage and the enjoyment of all divinely-appointed means of salvation, and then there will be no injury to any coming from Africa or any where else.

FINIS.